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IN order to head off the usual letters assuring us that Mr. Harding really did very well and obtained on the whole a good Cabinet and asking what we should have done in his place, we submit a possible Republican slate which speaks for itself:

Secretary of State	JOHN BASSETT MOORE of New York, or SENATOR KNOX of Pennsylvania.
Secretary of the Treasury	FRANK A. VANDERLIP of New York.
Secretary of War	GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS of Pennsylvania.
Attorney General	CHARLES E. HUGHES, of New York.
Postmaster General	JULIUS ROSENWALD of Illinois.
Secretary of the Navy	SAMUEL W. MCCALL of Massachusetts.
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Secretary of Agriculture	SENATOR EDWIN F. LADD of North Dakota.
Secretary of Commerce	CHARLES NAGEL of Missouri.
Secretary of Labor	JULIA LATHROP of Illinois.

SENATOR BORAH has again proved his right to the intellectual leadership of the Senate by his introduction in the dying Congress of a bill providing for the immediate removal from office of any United States official unlawfully interfering with the civil rights of the individual. The bill further provides fines of $5,000 and $10,000 for State or local officers who interfere with any attempt of any individual to exercise his right, privilege, or immunity to "propose, discuss, advance, agitate for, or promote by lawful means any Federal statute or any amendment of a Federal statute, or any amendment of the Federal Constitution." A ten thousand dollar fine and a five-year sentence are provided for any State or local officials seizing books or private papers without a warrant and for any Federal official who "injures, oppresses, threatens, or intimidates any person in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured or guaranteed to him by the Constitution." Perhaps most important of all is Section 7 of the bill, which makes it a criminal offense for Federal officers to make seizures and searches without warrants. Had such a bill been law we should not have seen such incredible flouting of the Constitution in the last few years by lawless officials who had so solemnly taken the oath to uphold it. If the new Congress is true to itself, true to our traditions and to the founders of America, this measure will be the very first to become a law. In some benighted portions of America like Pennsylvania and Alabama it would have the effect of restoring republican government and the fundamental liberties of the people which local officers have been and are now denying to them.

ONE more scrap of paper has been tossed into the Allied waste basket, already stuffed full with discarded clauses and obsolete commissions and decisions unconsidered and reconsidered. The treaty of Sèvres, which jigsawed the map of Turkey and imposed paper debts wholesale, has, as Mr. Lloyd George delicately put it, been "affected by the march of events." The Allies have boldly decided to send a commission to study the question of racial distribution on the spot, and the result is sure to be a reduction of the unethnically bloated territory allotted to Greece. The Turks clearly leave the London conference winners of the diplomatic match. The delegation from the Constantinople Government which has its expenses paid by the Allies, and the delegation from Mustapha Kemal's Angora Government which defies the Allies, refused to speak to each other in public, but by a curious coincidence the demands which they presented were virtually identical, and the outcome is that the suggestion of reparations payments by Turkey has been abandoned, and the boundary question, which Venizelos thought he had settled, is to be decided all over again. The Turkey of 1921 may limp a bit, but diplomatically speaking, it is no goose.

THEN there is this question about mandates. There seems to be some doubt as to just who got what spoils how. Japan claims Yap, and seems in a fair way to hold it, but the United States protests that it has not been consulted, and that the former German colonies are, by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, to be distributed not by the League of Nations but by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, which includes us. And we are quite right, though our rightness is one of the most amusing flukes that fortune ever played Mr. Wilson. Mr. Wilson,

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it will be recalled, did his very best to tie up all the decisions of the peace to the League which his people have rejected. There is also the question of the Near East mandates; it seems that England and France, without bothering even to consult the League, which they dominate thoroughly enough, have effected a swap of mandates in the Syrian desert, so that England can now obtain her long cherished dream of an all-rail route from the Mediterranean to India. All of which is very much in the historic manner of military victors, but it makes Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles rather bitter reading: "To those colonies and territories," it begins, "which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant." Sacred trust indeed!

THE Red Armies of Russia have had their victories on several fronts, but none so overwhelming as the victory over the combined forces of the League of Nations won by the Moscow Radio Station under the able command of Foreign Minister Chicherin. By a simple dispatch of messages—to Switzerland, to Italy, to Rumania, to Austria, and to Czecho-Slovakia—M. Chicherin, single-handed, has stopped the advance of the League of Nations army, through the territory of its own members, to Vilna. Whether the Russian Foreign Minister is wholly responsible for the refusal of these countries to allow the League army to pass may be a matter of some doubt—particularly in the countries involved. But the French Foreign Office, which takes the Bolsheviki more seriously, if possible, than they take themselves, is reported to have laid full blame for the halting of the League Army upon the invincible dispatches sent out from the Radio Station at Moscow.

ARGENTINA shows the same utter lack of humble respect for the great Powers that she showed in retiring from their League at Geneva. They ask her to take measures to prevent Germany's exporting war materials to Argentina because they have prohibited such export in their Treaty of Versailles. Whereupon Argentina replies that she has not heard of any German plans to export war materials to Argentina, and that she has not ordered any, but that on general principles she sees no reason to take such measures simply because the great Powers wish it. These small nations are getting out of hand; such talk lacks the deference to which the great Powers are accustomed. Apparently, similar notes have been sent to other neutrals. The newspaper accounts of the incident add an interesting item: "James W. R. MacLeay, the British Minister to the Argentine, said he understood the principle object of these notes was to prevent German war materials from reaching Russia."

FROM the hints that have been allowed to appear in the press it is evident that Pilsudski's mission to Paris was only a partial success. He secured a promise of help in the economic stabilization of Poland and in the reorganization of its army, a promise of technical and material, if not military, assistance from France in case Poland is attacked; and he agreed to a joint determination of the foreign policy of both countries in central and eastern Europe and to the constitution of a Franco-Polish company to exploit Galicia's oil wells. What he presumably went for he did not get—a promise of either direct military aid against the Bolsheviki, or of financial aid from the French bankers, who showed no disposition whatever to go to Poland's assistance. The French Government now knows, as a recent dispatch stated, "that French soldiers would never obey orders to go off and defend Poland in the eastern marches," or it has come to realize that its continental adventures are a rather extravagant form of dissipation. Poland received only half a loaf.

WHEN even Brigadier-General Crozier, commanding the Black and Tans in Ireland, resigns in protest against Governmental interference with the disciplining of men caught red-handed in the act of looting, the policy of empire in Ireland is indeed fallen low. The news of the week is appalling, a daily record of sickening tragedy. Governmental tribunals officially declare that a state of war exists, and thereupon a court martial sentence of death is confirmed upon an Irishman guilty of the single crime of possessing a pistol, and his fiancee and friends, kneeling outside the prison gates, hear the shot that fulfils the sentence. Five others are shot for participating in an ambush, and in reprisal the Irish kill British soldiers in the city of Cork. Murder begets murder, and there is no end to the reprisals and retaliations for reprisals. Can British ministers still stand up and declare that their policy of force is bringing peace to Ireland? General Crozier's resignation is at least a faint ray of hope. When the British officers in charge sicken of their work, the time may come when British ministers will lose stomach for their task. The real hope is in liberal England; Mr. Asquith's speeches are brave and do him honor; but will not Britain rise to save its name?

LORD MILNER has spoken words on the subject of Egypt that fall pleasantly on ears too long accustomed to stories of terror and atrocity in the further corners of Britain's Empire. "The spirit of Nationalist Egypt," he said in his report to Parliament, "cannot be extinguished, and an attempt to govern the country in the teeth of a hostile people is a difficult and disgraceful task." He urges that the liberation of Egypt be agreed to without delay. In spite of certain reservations intended to protect England's special interests, the report is fine and truly liberal in its tone, and if the Government acts upon it the world will have a chance to modify its opinion about the present tendency of British imperialism.

SO the Lever Act is unconstitutional. Attempted prosecution of sugar profiteers uncovered that interesting fact. Chief Justice White finds that Section Four of the act did not "constitute a fixing by Congress of an ascertainable standard of guilt," that the scope of the section was "as broad as the human imagination," and that "the degree of guilt was left to ever changing standards." We do not quarrel with the Supreme Court's ruling; the Lever Act was a hastily drawn measure, and like many war-time acts, was far from a model legal document. But it is interesting to note that this act was successfully used by Federal attorneys, aided by the lower Federal courts, to kill the coal strike, and met defeat only when it attempted to deal with profiteers. Congress, in passing the bill, had no dream

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of punishing strikers, but intended punishment of profiteers. The act achieved the unintended goal, but its unconstitutionality was discovered when it attempted the goal intended. Such a sequence of events, whether it be proper legal process or not, inevitably tends to discredit the courts and leads wide circles of our people to believe that the courts are used as tools of business interests.

WHEN President Wilson refused to pardon Eugene Debs the latter issued a statement to the press in which he said among other things: "It is Woodrow Wilson who needs a pardon from the American people—and, if I had it within my power, I would grant him the pardon that would set him free. . . . There is not in my heart the slightest trace of bitterness or resentment. I am compassionate; I do not condemn Mr. Wilson. He is the most pitiful figure in history." As the result of the publication of this statement, the Administration in Washington denied to Mr. Debs all prison privileges, refused to permit him to receive mail or reading material, or to write a letter even to his wife. It is also reported that he has been placed in solitary confinement in the isolation building at Atlanta. This is so absolutely characteristic of the Wilson Administration that we are really rather inclined to believe that it is a fitting exit for it to go out of office with this small revenge to its credit upon a man whose spirit soars far above that of any member of the late Government.

TO any friend of labor the accounts of the meeting in Washington of the union chiefs of the American Federation of Labor are profoundly depressing. To be sure they declared war on the open shop, but it is apparently to be a war of the pen, waged with a publicity bureau, which shall among other duties inform the country of labor's "stand" on this question. Such a program amounts to little more than a confession of helplessness in the face of adverse economic conditions. The American Federation of Labor has neither the philosophy nor the power needed to hold its own through bad times, and for all its fine gestures of pugnacity it can only talk—and wait. It would do well, however, to talk about its troubles and to try to find a way out of them rather than waste words of invective on the dangers of foreign agitators and the sins of the Soviet Government of Russia. The spleen it displays when it approaches these subjects reveals its own lack of a constructive, hopeful program, and will do little to strengthen it in the quarter where it most lacks strength—among our foreign-born workers.

IN many ways the immigration bill finally shaped in the Senate is more objectionable than the earlier exclusion measure introduced by Representative Johnson in the House. Mr. Johnson made the mistake of assuming an emergency due to a flood of incoming aliens which did not exist, but his bill was frankly temporary in character and did not pretend to establish a settled policy. On the other hand, the Senate measure, although limited in operation to fifteen months, is based upon a principle of selection by nationality that is as unscientific as it is unfair. This is the worst of all times to emphasize the old superstitions based upon race and nationality, while to limit the arrivals from any one country to 3 per cent of the persons of that nationality resident in the United States gives an obvious advantage to the regions from which our early immigration sprang. Thus of about 350,000 immigrants admissible in a year, the largest quotas are allowed to the United Kingdom, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, in the order named, although most Russians are excluded under our present passport regulations. Senator Colt of Rhode Island has stated that the Senate measure is calculated to restrict immigration further even than the Johnson bill. This is likely, because the Johnson measure made liberal exceptions in favor of relatives of persons already here, and this covers a large proportion of present arrivals.

"THE history of typhus is that of human wretchedness." The words of Hirsch, the German physician, are pathetically significant today. Eastern Europe has become typhus-land—a waste of hunger, cold, sickness, despair—across whose man-drawn frontiers these four gaunt horsemen of war's shambles ride unhindered. Across three thousand miles of isolating ozone their poisonous exhalations are wafted upon us. As an actuality typhus, before the war, had ceased to exist here. Medical men took its extinction for granted. It had historical interest only—akin to the black plague or the more recent hospital gangrene. Its tombstone was indeed a monument to civilization, to modern science. Now this mysterious pestilence stalks again in our midst; and with mankind still steeped in blood and hate this silent revisitor may ravage far. It is Italy, foremost among Western European nations to recognize and attempt adjustment to a changed world, which is now valiantly stemming this ancient and newest death. Italy has created a true cordon sanitaire on its northeastern border which restricts the typhus area and holds back the exposed would-be emigrants to the United States. This is the kind of immigration restriction which all may indorse; this, the one frontier which justifies its "they shall not pass."

MAIL brought in 33-1/3 hours from San Francisco to New York? It staggers the imagination, but there the fact is. Seven fifty-pound pouches of mail left San Francisco on Tuesday morning, February 22, and arrived at Mineola, Long Island, the next afternoon, being brought at an average speed of 81 miles an hour including stops. Were we not a people dulled to the marvels of science, so extraordinary a feat must have thrilled the country. It was only a short time ago that the transcontinental pony express seemed to Americans an amazing achievement when it carried the mail from ocean to ocean within three weeks. Then came the seven-day trains, cut gradually to four and a half, and now the aeroplane in 33 hours, which will indubitably soon be a round twenty-four hours. How remote now seems Jules Verne's hero who struggled across the continent by train, by balloon, by snow-boat, by horse, to accomplish his trip around the world in eighty days! The Government is building or purchasing several great Zeppelins which are counted on to carry passengers from New York to San Francisco in a trifle over two days and one of them may be in service next summer—and this is after all but the beginning of the development of aviation. Regrettable as it is that one pilot lost his life in the transcontinental flight, the Government does well in encouraging such feats. The pony express riders frequently paid for their daring with their lives; the mail pilots are acquiring a skill and knowledge without which commercial advances will be impossible. They are among the real heroes of science.

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Mr. Harding's Cabinet

MR. HARDING'S Cabinet gives no room for surprise or disappointment. Bacon declared a long time ago that "men's thoughts are made according to their nature," but that "their line in action is after that to which they have been accustomed." What else could anyone have expected from one of Mr. Harding's training and mental caliber? We have a Cabinet about as ill equipped to deal with the terrible problems confronting the world as could well be put together and one utterly remote from that liberalism and spirit of progress for which thoughtful men and women long. Indeed, there is one distinctly laughable phase in the plight of those numberless trusting Americans who went about during the campaign saying: "Well, at least Harding will surround himself with big men—the best brains of the country will be in his Cabinet." To the multitudes of these there is nothing left save to chart the names of Hughes and Hoover—dubbed the "deodorizers" in the press.

For Mr. Hoover's consent to serve we are most grateful, particularly in view of the conditions which he has suggested and Mr. Harding has accepted. His decision spells genuine self-sacrifice. His presence insures the attendance at Cabinet meetings of one man who thinks in terms of humanity, who has been serving mankind according to the best that is in him ever since he went to Belgium's relief in 1914, who understands and can gauge European conditions as few others. Should he leave the Cabinet—and we cannot just now look for his remaining a member long—it will not contain a single person who knows or understands conditions across the ocean although the fate of the Administration may readily be settled by the trend of events abroad. With Mr. Hoover excepted the Cabinet is essentially of Gopher Prairie quality. We make only a qualified exception for Mr. Hughes, whose mind, always austere, has been set and hardened by his six years on the Supreme Court, who still lives in part upon his excellent reputation as Governor of New York. The character of the campaign he made for the Presidency in 1916 was revealing, though the splendid stand he took against the expulsion of the Socialists from the New York Legislature in 1920 can never be forgotten. It is for the Charles E. Hughes of this latter episode that we must hope. He is confronted by a similar opportunity in the case of Haiti and Santo Domingo. As Attorney-General, Mr. Hughes would have been in place; we believe he would in that office have set his face rigidly against those abuses of the American bill of rights which have so disgraced Mr. Palmer's career as Attorney-General. But to choose as Secretary of State a man totally unfamiliar with diplomacy, or European affairs, is to revert to the old American idea that any man can run any job. Had Mr. Harding really sensed the need he must have turned to Senator Knox, or to so learned, deeply-versed, and clear-thinking a man and scholar as John Bassett Moore.

From Mr. Hughes the descent is rapid. For one so imbued with the ideals and ethical standards of the bar as he it must be hard, indeed, to sit at the same table with Harry M. Daugherty of Ohio, whose own neighbors would not elect him a delegate to the last Republican Convention. In him the Cabinet touches low water mark; the Attorney-Generalship is thus spent in payment of a political debt. So, too, the Postmaster-Generalship. That unfortunate department, in such dire need of reorganization and competent administration by the ablest business man available, some one of the type of Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, or the best efficiency engineer to be had, is once more delivered over to the practical politician of the Administration, to Will H. Hays, as in the past to Burleson, to Hitchcock, to Clarkson, to all the rest of the long line. To give the Treasury into the hands of perhaps our richest banker may be expedient, but it is not good sense nor good politics when there was available a Frank A. Vanderlip who combines financial ability with marked liberalism and a rarely enlightened understanding of foreign affairs. On top of this the army is handed over to a State Street banker of most mediocre abilities, whose political joblessness owing to his defeat for reelection to the Senate in a traditionally Republican State, has apparently made it necessary to "take care of him." The Interior is confided to Senator Fall, whose chief interest seems to be a desire to get us into trouble with Mexico. As for the Navy Department, that is bestowed upon a good fighting man, the son of one of the best diplomats the United States ever had in the Far East, while the Department of Labor goes to a millionaire whose claim to fame rests on the fact that he, years ago, held a membership card in a union of iron, steel, and tin workers. Against him labor has rightly protested.

In truth it is a good, old-fashioned Big Business Cabinet, without a woman in it, without a representative of the masses of the laboring people, without any one whose name at once suggests liberalism and democracy. It is, barring Mr. Hoover, exactly representative of those who believe that our Government under a Republican administration lives for the preservation of existing privilege, for the keeping of the present order intact, for making rich and prosperous those who contribute to the success of and dominate the Republican Party. The horrid thought of the laws with "teeth" in them that a crusading and uncontrolled Attorney-General could enforce will trouble no one. There will be no bringing of suits as under Mr. Knox in the Roosevelt regime. It is to be hands off business with full steam ahead and the almighty dollar as the great objective. Then, too, the public should realize that this is to be an imperialistic and aggressive Administration seeking the biggest navy in the world. If Mexico does not mind her p's and q's then will the fate of Santo Domingo, of Haiti, and of Nicaragua be hers no matter what it may cost the United States in lives and treasure. And Mr. Harding's is a pro-League Government in its make-up, with the exception of Senator Fall. If it dares urge the League with mild reservations then a split in the party becomes inevitable. Well, the sooner it comes the better: the country needs sharp divisions, it needs a clear-cut breach, after the moral and political disintegration inseparably following after any war. Political feeling and thought are all but dead in the country. Too many say with Marlborough: "As I think most things are governed by destiny, having done all that is possible, I submit with patience." The true patriot fights on, without the patience of contentment or compromise. Beholding those to whom the country's destiny is now intrusted, liberals who contend not for office but for men and principles must more resolutely and more steadfastly than ever steer their own course, and consecrate themselves anew to their own aims. There is a glorious fight ahead.

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Food Taxes—for Whom?

IN many quarters the so-called "emergency tariff" has been dismissed as an effort to fool the farmers. It is that, but it is also an attempt to fool the entire public, and as it probably represents the program of the Republican majority in the new as well as in the old Congress, the measure deserves more than a laugh, even though at this writing the expectation is that President Wilson will not sign the bill. As already suggested in these columns, the enactment of a tariff with the avowed purpose of helping the farmers—however futile the idea—is probably intended to smooth the way for protective duties in the interest of manufacturers, announced as an early purpose of the new Congress. Indeed, examination of the "emergency tariff," as finally shaped, shows that at least two duties for the direct benefit of manufacturing interests were slipped into that measure itself. There is a tax of seven cents a pound on cotton manufactures and of forty-five cents a pound on wool and hair manufactures, both in addition to existing rates.

It is obvious that if a tariff on farm products is to help agriculturists, it can do so only by raising the cost of food —and indirectly everything else—for all consumers, farmers included. *The Nation* is unalterably opposed to stimulating industry in this way. Such a course leads inevitably to granting favors to one class after another in the much-talked-of "vicious circle" that means higher and higher prices. But it is doubtful if the price of many of America's farm products can be raised by the expedient of a tariff. A tariff can be efficacious only where imports exceed exports. To take a hypothetical case, suppose we export 100 bushels of barley a year to Europe while importing 50 bushels from Canada. Plainly the 50 bushels from Canada are sent here for reexport or to take the place of 50 bushels of our own grain going to the foreign market. In either case there is an excess of exports over imports of 50 bushels. The price of this excess 50 bushels is fixed by the European demand. Canada will sell to us at the same price, because if she asks more we will not buy (having more than we need for ourselves already), while if we demand a lower rate from her, she will ignore us and sell to the European market direct. This principle holds true wherever exports exceed imports. In such circumstances a customs duty cannot affect the domestic price at all.

Now if one glances through the schedules of the "emergency tariff," he will find that in respect to a majority of the important items, exports do exceed imports. The present low prices of grain, for instance, are one of the chief sources of distress among our farmers, but the figures of the Department of Commerce show that in the calendar year 1920 we exported 218 million bushels of wheat as against 35 million bushels imported, 17 million bushels of corn as against 7 million bushels imported, and 392 million pounds of rice as against 142 million pounds imported. How can duties on these products, as proposed in the "emergency tariff," help our grain growers? Likewise with tobacco, of which we sold 479 million pounds abroad in 1920 and purchased only 82 million pounds. In respect to cotton, of which we produce about two-thirds of the world's crop, the food taxers do not dare to be so absurd as to propose a general tariff, but they do fix one on the long-staple variety and on cottonseed oil, although of the latter we exported 184 million pounds last year and imported only 9 million pounds. And how can apple raisers profit by a tariff, in view of the fact that we exported nearly 2 million barrels of this fruit, fresh, and 8 million pounds, dried, last year? With regard to meat and dairy products, it is true that imports of butter exceeded exports last year, but we sold 414 million pounds of preserved milk abroad as against 23 million pounds purchased. It is also true that we imported more cattle and sheep, and more lamb and mutton, in 1920 than we exported, but our foreign sales of hog products are enormous beside our trivial purchases, and our exports of beef, although diminishing, are still ahead of imports. The total value of meat and dairy products exported last year was 544 million dollars, as compared with 64 million dollars' worth imported.

In respect to our most important and widely-cultivated farm products it should be apparent that a tariff can be of no assistance, but the drafting of such a measure has afforded the opportunity to subsidize at the expense of the entire country a few localized crops like lemons and olives, and to incorporate two duties highly dangerous to the American consumer. We refer to those on sugar and wool, of which products our imports are greatly in excess of our exports. Sugar, already bearing a duty about one cent a pound, has another cent added by the "emergency tariff," while the rates on wool, ranging from fifteen to forty-five cents a pound, are exceedingly serious. Sheep raising is rarely profitable except upon cheap or poor land, and the growth of this country makes it undesirable to encourage the industry except in restricted areas where it can pay its way against foreign competition.

It is much easier, of course, to fool the farmer with a tariff than to give him what he needs. He needs to be brought closer to the consumer, so that he will get a larger share of the already too high prices that the latter pays, and he needs to have his foreign markets restored. Publicly-owned warehouses and cooperative marketing will help to bring farmer and consumer closer. Restoration of the farmer's foreign markets depends largely on the improvement of European exchange. While the money of Europe is as depreciated in terms of our own as at present, European countries must restrict their purchases in our markets to the barest minimum. We can help to restore the purchasing power of European money by buying European products, which will establish credit against which purchases can be made. Europeans can buy our goods only if we take theirs in return. During the war our exports got abnormally ahead of our imports. In order to develop our exports now, we must also develop our imports. A tariff either on farm or manufactured products will be a further barrier to the restoration of foreign trade; higher domestic prices will be a similar impediment. Within the last twenty years the United States has become a great manufacturing nation, but she cannot continue as such without getting back into the industrial family of nations. The alternative is national isolation and a change from factory to farm work on the part of thousands of our workers. In the long run this might be good both for them and the country, but it would be attended by tremendous loss and hardship, while the already distressed farmer would find himself with more rather than less competition.

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No More Political Asylum

ALMOST without remark by the press, and unrealized or unregretted by the great body of the public, the right of political asylum in America disappears. An ancient species of freedom in which this nation had gloried since its birth is sacrificed to the autocracy of the age. Let the Kossuths, the Mazzinis, and the Garibaldis of the future take notice! There is no open door in America for them now.

What was originally intended as war-time legislation only was accepted as permanent policy by the United States Senate on February 18, when, fathered by Lodge of Massachusetts and Harrison of Mississippi, a rider was added to the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill, specifying that "the provisions of the act approved May 22, 1918, shall, in so far as they relate to requiring passports and visas from aliens seeking to come to the United States, continue in force and effect until otherwise provided by law." At this writing there is every reason to believe that the House will accept the amendment and that President Wilson will sign the measure that carries out the wishes and continues the present practices of his Department of State. The law of 1918, specified in the Senate rider, requires all aliens wishing to come to America to provide themselves with passports issued by their own country and visaed by an American consul. Otherwise, aliens are not permitted to land. If this law was ever justified, it was only as a war measure to protect us from possible enemy spies or agents. Its most visible result, both during and since the war, has been to control the movements of persons whose political or economic views have been objectionable either to their own governments or to ours.

This legislation relating to the entrance of aliens to this country has its complement in the law requiring our own citizens to obtain passports before proceeding abroad. At the same time that foreign radicals or other "undesirable aliens" are prevented from coming to this country, Americans of similar persuasion are imprisoned within the confines of the United States. Of course, the whole arrangement plays admirably into a system of international espionage. The spies of our Department of Justice exchange information through diplomatic channels with the European secret police, and our Department of State cooperates with European officialdom to thwart all persons and movements that are conceived to be dangerous to the prestige of the existing regime of reaction.

It is worth noting that this pet scheme of our Department of State, which Senator Harrison championed as "one way of restricting immigration," does not meet with the approval of the Bureau of Immigration. Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, in his annual report for 1919, suggested that it would be desirable to extend the immigration inspection service abroad to the extent of stationing immigration officials at important consulates for the purpose of advising and assisting intending immigrants. This he thought could be done "with or without the use of passports," and he did not propose that immigration officials abroad should have final power to exclude immigrants. In view of this position, the continued exercise of final power of exclusion by the Department of State alone could hardly be pleasing to Mr. Caminetti, and it is not surprising to find him saying in his last annual report:

While the Bureau took strong ground last year in favor of a continuance of the so-called visa system, owing to the war situation then pending in many countries, it was on the assumption that, if continued, provision would be made for the exercise of authority to be vested in the Department of State and the Department of Labor, so that the enforcement of the immigration laws might be secured at the source of much of the then expected increase in immigration, this not only to meet the necessity to safeguard our country from the entrance of dangerous elements but to save from the hardships of an ocean voyage inadmissible applicants who would find on arrival at our seaports that they must return to their former homes. Instead of relieving this condition, the continuance of the visa system without the insertion of the qualifying provisions expected by the immigration service has had in part, under the amendatory laws on the subject, the opposite effect so far, and bids fair, unless some way can be found to remedy the situation, to produce congestion at our immigration stations, and to increase the difficulties of regulating immigration under the act of 1917.

The most hopeful aspect of the situation is that it is becoming increasingly possible, for those who are Red enough to snap their fingers at government regulations and travel where they please without regard to formalities. The ridicule that this excites may accomplish more than the demands of justice in breaking down the intolerable system of surveillance and restriction that bullying and scheming officialdom would impose.

The Professor and His President

THE choice of James Rowland Angell as president of Yale represents a break with Yale tradition even sharper than that which occurred when the trustees chose, in President Hadley, a layman for a post which had always been held by clergymen. The new president is not even a graduate of Yale. In respect to his special training and experience, however, Dr. Angell will fall, it seems likely, into the Yale tradition without great difficulty. Although a psychologist of note, he has presumably been chosen for his tried skill as an administrator, particularly for the work he did on classification of personnel in the army. His standing as a scholar, that is to say, must have had less to do with his selection than his capacity for large affairs. Much the same qualities, no doubt, will influence the trustees of Cornell in the choice now pending of a successor to Jacob Gould Schurman.

Without believing or hinting for a moment that American universities, as at present constituted, can dispense with a sort of administration which belongs rather to the methods of business than to those of learning, we feel inclined once more to call attention to the excessive and autocratic power which college presidents have in this republic. The Scottish principal or the Continental rector would not know what to do with so much power if he had it. And he would not have it, for the simple reason that his colleagues would not allow him to. If ever one were disposed to say that a community deserves no better government than it has, it would be in the case of our universities. Responsibility lies upon the professors perhaps quite as much as upon the trustees who have visualized a university as an industrial enterprise and have conducted it on the basis of that analogy. In the vast expansion of university instruction which has gone on during the past century, the professors have been so busy with the development of their particular departments of instruction that they have neglected their own interests—

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and, in the long run, the highest interests of the universities. The simplest illustration of this fact may be found in the matter of salaries, which instead of increasing with the increase of living costs have decreased, absolutely in a few places, and relatively almost everywhere. Professors have not been so well paid that they could lightly welcome reductions, nor have they been such altruists as appearances might seem to indicate; neither have they fallen off in ability and prestige as much as is often charged against them by their more impatient critics. The truth of the matter is that they have shut their eyes to what was going on, more or less like the citizens of our rapidly expanding cities, and have left the government of their communities in the hands of persons who have carried it out in the spirit of all governors who are uncontrolled by those whom they govern.

There has been a vicious circle operative here. The professor, overworked because of the increase of his opportunities to teach, has resented being called in to help the administration and has left the task to those paid for it; the administrators, finding the professor heedless and busy, have left him alone and have allowed his burdens to grow and his remuneration to diminish. Consequently it has come about that a most undesirable gulf now usually sunders the teaching and the administrative staff of our universities. The president no longer teaches; rarely indeed does he enjoy great honor as a scholar among his own faculty, which is likely to have several men easily his superiors in intellectual grasp and achievement; at one of the State universities which has recently acquired a new president it is matter of common, cynical agreement among his colleagues that though he is himself a trivial person he is likely to persuade the legislature to raise their salaries and so will have performed the highest function to be expected of him. On the other hand, the university president too often, even when his instincts are not toward autocracy, has come to think of himself as a sort of impresario, who, having all manner of queer and temperamental creatures to deal with, must deal with them with the impresario's combination of respectful pressure and contemptuous tact.

Hope probably lies somewhere in this sundering gulf, but it lies in widening the gulf not in bridging it. The primary cause of the abuses of the current system is that a college presidency has carried with it the prestige of learning as well as the credit of that expertness which is expected of a good executive secretary. What is needed is a disassociation of these two functions. The universities need competent business management; very well, let them have a business manager able to carry out the policies of the faculties. Many conditions also urge that among the professors there should be a chairman or president of high rank and responsibility. Very well, let him be chosen. But to demand that he be at once an intellectual leader and a superb man of affairs is generally too much and merely spells disappointment. And to invest a business manager with the dignity and authority which belong to a true intellectual leader is merely absurd. It is a division of the office that the times seem to call for—perhaps with a rector chosen by the professors, either for a term of years or permanently, and a man of affairs selected by the trustees. There might be some conflicts of jurisdiction, but at best they would be only details. Putting all the power in the hands of the executive has not been so successful as to make any one want really to continue the old system.

The Black Troops on the Rhine

MAJOR GENERAL HENRY T. ALLEN, commander of the American troops in the occupied Rhineland, and an officer who does honor to his country, has made a very interesting report upon the use of French colored troops in the Rhineland. From January, 1919, to June, 1920, the average number of black troops in the French Army of the Rhine was 5,200, and of colored races, ranging from Moroccans to Malgaches, 20,000. In June, 1920, the black regiments were withdrawn; there remain the North Africans, the Malgaches, and a few black individuals in other regiments. General Allen finds that the Germans have used the presence of these colored troops as the basis for a violent and exaggerated anti-French propaganda, and that some German newspapers have honorably admitted such exaggeration. Up to June 1, 1920, 66 cases of alleged sexual crime were officially reported to the French military authorities against their colored Colonial troops in the Rhineland; in 28 cases the offenders had been punished, the sentences running from thirty days in prison to ten years at hard labor. General Allen believes that there have been other cases not reported. These are, he says, "in my opinion cases such as generally occur in any land when soldiery is for a long time quartered upon the population."

There spoke an honest soldier. The crime is the occupation rather than the presence of black troops. Although, as General Allen points out, the discipline of the African troops is less perfect than that of their white comrades, they are no such brute barbarians as they are pictured in the exaggerated propaganda here and abroad. And the presence of colored troops is no such special gall to Germans as it would be to Southerners in this country. Neither Germany nor France establishes any such absurd color-line as most Americans observe. General Allen refers to many cases of marriage freely contracted by German women with black soldiers. Gall and wormwood as any military occupation is to the occupied, and tyrannical as the occupiers are almost sure to be—as the Germans were in Belgium and as we are in Haiti—there are always cases of personal friendship and even love crossing the gulfs of hate and race.

A mass of stories of tyranny by the French forces of occupation has come to our attention. Much of it has been obvious exaggeration. We have been at pains to secure as precise data as possible, and we print herewith a sober, restrained letter from the mayor of one of the cities occupied by the French, and a summary, by a person whom we know to be reliable, of cases in which the French authorities have compelled the Germans to establish brothels for the use of the French troops. Because of the nature of the occupation, we cannot divulge the names of our informants. We believe this information to be authoritative; and we believe it the right of Americans to protest in a friendly way to a friendly nation against such abuse of power. Protest such as that which certain groups have recently been making in a spirit of low race prejudice we believe harmful to the humane ends which all Americans must wish to attain. Suppression of such protest meetings as those now being held by German-Americans would be absurd and contrary to a long and honorable American tradition, but exaggeration and passion only tend to obscure facts which justify protest. THE NATION doubts the wisdom of these meetings in which the emphasis is placed upon race prejudice.

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The letter from the mayor of N—— reads:

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: We have three times as many French soldiers quartered in our city today as we had German soldiers here in time of peace. Among them are —— Negroes from Madagascar. We have heard nothing of their leaving. These colonial troops seem in general to be rather harmless, but when under the influence of alcohol or of sex they cannot be counted upon. The latter is especially serious as it affects the general safety. It can not be denied, indeed, that here and there German women are to be found who voluntarily have intercourse with individual or even with many Negroes. As the occupation prolongs, this is increasingly true. Constant personal contact in private houses with so-called washwomen or women who do ironing makes it easy to begin such relationships, especially when the men are relatively well-to-do and the women in bitter need. The physical and moral confusion of many classes of people consequent upon the experiences of the war and after-war years also plays its part. And the fact that, whether rightly or wrongly, "good relations" with members of the occupation are considered as a talisman against all other dangers due to the occupation, counts in overcoming the last scruples. And there is a possibility that now and then a perverse sex feeling plays its part, too.

Yet while all this must be admitted, it does not lessen the responsibility of a civilized people which utilizes such troops in exercising its sovereign rights against another civilized people, and thereby maintains a continual sexual menace, from the point of view of physical health, of hygiene, and of the race. Various cities have been formally compelled to establish brothels which, however, are also used by the white troops, men and officers. Sometimes the cities are compelled to acquire the houses needed. This was true in Speyer and in Ludwigshafen, for instance. The business itself is carried on in those cities by entrepreneurs who are also responsible for recruiting the necessary personnel. In many cities, among them those named, there seem to have been no particular difficulties, although sometimes more or less gentle pressure may be exercised to induce women, even those already on the rolls of the morals police, to enter the public houses when the need arises. There is no doubt that the existence of such houses lessens, although it does not do away with, annoyances to German women on the streets. But cases of the kind mentioned constantly recur even now. Many women, because of natural shame, or of fear of the inconveniences connected with or following upon investigation, do not report such cases. Furthermore, the better public refrains from going outside the city in daytime or on the streets at all at night to such a degree that the danger is much reduced. But this lack of security is in itself a heavy burden upon the people. The serious consequences of the mere shock to a respectable woman when molested by a Negro do not need to be explained. In short, it is a harsh experience for the cities which suffer it.

I have endeavored to give a short and objective statement of conditions and have expressly refrained from anything which might be regarded as libelous by the occupation.

———, in the French Occupied Zone, February 4, 1921.

———, ———, Mayor of one of the occupied cities.

The summary of cases in which the French ordered the Germans to establish brothels for the use of French troops follows:

A. In the American and British zones the occupation authorities have not asked that brothels be established.

B. In the Belgian zone such requests were made locally, but were allowed to drop.

C. In the French occupied zone brothels were demanded and established at the following places:

1. The city of Kaiserslautern was ordered verbally and in writing, early in 1919, by the French military authorities (Major Derville) to establish a brothel for the occupation troops. The city put the execution of the order in the hands of a brothel-maintainer, who covered the costs by the profits.

2. The mayor of Landau was ordered, January 6, 1919, by Major Watrin and General Laroque of the Eighth Army to establish a public house for the French troops of the Landau garrison. Shortly after the house at No. 7 Kaufhausgasse, belonging to the Schneider family, was seized. Three other families besides the Schneiders lived in this house; other homes had to be found for them on short notice. Up to April 21, 1920, the city had paid out 10,837.25 marks for equipping the house and for accessory costs.

3. A brothel was established in Ludwigshafen upon order of the French local commander early in 1919. Two houses were asked at first; but after negotiation this was reduced to one house. The city authorities bought two houses for 90,000 marks, and equipped one for 43,000 marks. The business was let out, and it is hoped to cover the costs by the rental.

4. In Mainz the French *chefferie du génie* ordered the German Military Building Office to establish a brothel in the Luenette Erbenheim for a battalion of Algerian tirailleurs. The rooms are no longer used as a brothel, but as a prison. The building costs amounted to 70,000 marks, paid by Germany.

5. At the Kostheim camp the same French authorities compelled the same German office to establish a brothel for Algerian tirailleurs. The brothel is occupied by Arab women. The building costs amounted to 109,802.76 marks.

6. At Fort Weisenau bei Mainz the municipal garrison authorities were ordered by the French *chefferie du génie* to build a brothel. After four weeks the rooms were transformed into a dining-room for French officers. The building costs were 1,500 marks.

7. In Bingen a brothel was established upon order and turned over to a private entrepreneur. The costs, 40,000 marks, are to be covered by interest at 5, and amortization at 2½ per cent.

8. At Langenschwalbach the city turned over the establishment of a brothel, ordered by the French, to an entrepreneur.

9. At Hoechst am Main two brothels were established, at a cost of 29,000 marks, upon order of the French authorities.

10. At Wiesbaden two brothels were established upon demand by the French, at a cost of 58,542.32 marks, besides which the city provided equipment costing 100,000 marks, which the manager of the brothel is to pay for in monthly instalments of 1,500 marks.

11. At the maneuvering ground at Griesheim near Darmstadt a brothel for North African troops was established in stall 39 upon order of the French. It cost 14,890 marks.

12. At Idstein a brothel was established upon order at a cost of 27,000 marks.

13. At Speyer a brothel was established early in 1920 upon order of the French local commander. The city paid 50,000 marks to buy two houses; the business is rented out, the renter paying for the equipment, and it is hoped that the rent will pay for the purchase costs.

14. In Diez two brothels were established by the city upon order, at a cost of 3,580 marks.

15. At Siegburg a brothel was ordered established during the armistice period. A building belonging to the national government formerly used for offices and a printing-shop was seized for the purpose. The total costs amounted to 152,069.03 marks, but the house has not yet been used by the occupation authorities nor freed for other uses.

16. At Bad Ems the mayor was forced by the French occupation authorities to establish a brothel after he had refused several times and been threatened with punishment. The brothel is chiefly used by Americans coming from Coblenz. The business is so lively, especially at night, that sometimes 14 automobiles are parked in the street in front of the house. Apart from the fact that Germany has to pay for the costs of the automobiles, the conduct of those using the brothel affects injuriously the business of the city of Bad Ems. The cost of establishing the brothel was 6,000 marks.

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What Is Happening in North Dakota

By OLIVER S. MORRIS

"A COLLAPSE of the Socialist experiment"—this is the way the fight for control waging between the Nonpartisan League and its opponents in North Dakota has been widely and triumphantly heralded by the press of the United States. Subject to the same assaults and the deliberate attempt to wreck its structure of government it would be equally possible to describe the collapse of the administration of the Hawaiian Islands, or of the British Isles, or of any community that depends somewhat on intercourse with the rest of the world. Shut it off from food or raw materials or, as in the case of North Dakota, from credit, meanwhile making every attempt to sabotage it from within, and it is not surprising that the organization thus affected should sense that it is engaged in a conflict. There has been and is a bitter struggle in North Dakota. That is what the North Dakota "collapse" amounts to.

The North Dakota State Government has never been able to sell the bond issue of $17,000,000 authorized by the 1919 legislature to finance the industrial program, adopted by the State as a result of the organization and political success of the Nonpartisan League. The constitutionality of the bonds was attacked early in 1919 by suits in the State and Federal courts, but upheld by the United States Supreme Court last summer, when it became possible for the first time to sell the bonds. But since then two things have prevented their sale—the extremely poor condition of the bond market and the propaganda against the Nonpartisan League and against the State which has adopted its program.

Nevertheless, the State proceeded with the industrial program, temporarily financing the construction of the terminal mill and elevator and other projects through the Bank of North Dakota. The bank, established by the 1919 legislature, had been given custody of all the public funds of the State. The total resources of the bank have ranged from around $14,000,000 to about $23,000,000, mostly public funds of the State. The bank in all has loaned $1,135,000 to finance the State industrial program and other State departments, $2,882,035.92 on first mortgages on farm land to relieve the stress of the farmers, $70,596.90 on warehouse receipts representing stored farm products, and $2,464,041.38 to private banks. The February 15 statement showed that the bank had loaned to farmers, and to State departments to carry out the Nonpartisan League program, a total of nearly $4,000,000, whereas at the same time the bank had made loans to private banks and had redeposited public funds in private banks to the extent of $8,000,000. This was the condition after the bank had succeeded during the present crisis in calling in a large part of the public deposits in private banks.

At the election last November the League Opposition captured the lower house of the legislature, and put through a law, initiated by petition and indorsed by the bankers of the State, making it optional with local officials whether the Bank of North Dakota was to have public funds other than those of the State Government itself. Under the initiated law the bank will lose custody of the permanent, sinking, and current funds of counties, cities, school districts where the officials are hostile to the League. The effect of this law and the refusal of the big financial interests to take North Dakota bonds, coupled with the financial stringency of the after-the-war deflation period felt in all States, ruinous prices for farm products, and repeated crop failures in North Dakota, has been to put the State face to face with a financial and political crisis for which few if any parallels can be found.

Western North Dakota, prior to last year, had crop failures for three successive years. Last year's crop, a moderate one only, the farmers refused to sell at prevailing prices. There are over 900 private banks in North Dakota, most of them small banks in farming communities. When the law supported by the bankers and the League Opposition went into effect last December, over half the banks of the State were in precarious condition, through no fault of the League or the State administration, and since that time events have happened thick and fast. Threatened with deprivation of a large part of its resources, the State bank could no longer extend aid to private banks, and was even obliged to demand from private banks repayment of their loans and return of the redeposited public funds. The State industrial commission immediately ordered work stopped on the big terminal mill and elevator at Grand Forks, and shut down the work of building homes under the State Home Building Act. Many counties and other political subdivisions of the State, politically controlled by enemies of the State administration and its industrial program, demanded their public money from the Bank of North Dakota when the initiated law went into effect. Private banks began to close their doors voluntarily, or on order of the State bank examiner, unable to make collections fast enough to meet cash demands. Several closed weekly until at present over forty have suspended. The Bank of North Dakota, under the law, was to be examined periodically like other banks of the State; it was to issue monthly statements and report to the industrial commission at regular intervals. Also it was required to report to each session of the legislature, and both the legislature and the industrial commission had authority to examine the bank at any time.

But as soon as the bank opened in the summer of 1919 the League Opposition pointed out that the industrial commission, the State bank examiner, and the legislature were in control of the Nonpartisan League, and that really there was no machinery for an impartial report on the financial condition of the bank. Charging gross irregularities and hinting at "big graft," the Opposition demanded permission for the State auditor to examine the bank. It was intimated that the bank was being used to finance the Nonpartisan League or some of its allied newspapers, or even League leaders' private business enterprises. The State auditor was one of the three officials originally indorsed and elected by the League who turned against the movement early in 1919, and became a bitter political enemy. With no authority to examine the Bank of North Dakota, he nevertheless presented himself with his accountants, but was refused access to the books: precisely what the Opposition wanted. They raised a cry that there must be something "rotten" in the bank if its management was afraid to have him examine it. In the resulting law attacking the bank the State administration paid for the mistake of not permitting an audit. Not

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that there was anything wrong in the bank, for subsequently, when the Opposition got access to the books, they found nothing; but it was bad politics.

The League Opposition in 1920 initiated two laws affecting the State bank: one for no longer requiring public money except that of the State Government to be deposited in the State bank, and another authorizing the State auditing committee, controlled by the three hostile State officials, to audit the bank. The popular feeling aroused over the false charges and the refusal to let the State auditor in, carried by narrow margins both these initiated laws in the 1920 election. The League strove desperately to show the people that passage of the law taking the public money from the Bank of North Dakota would cripple the State industrial program and precipitate a financial crisis, but the sentiment in favor of the law for the alleged "impartial" examination of the bank carried both measures.

To understand the situation as it is now, the reader should know that the Opposition, organized as the Independent Voters' Association, or the "I. V. A." for short, ran its candidates both in the primaries and general election last year on a platform approving in general and in principle the Nonpartisan League program. They demanded a thorough and fair trial for the State industrial program, proposing merely some minor changes in the industrial laws and their administration to make them more "workable and efficient," and to "drive the leaders of the League from the public crib." Had they opposed the industrial program they could not have captured control of the lower branch of the legislature. They concentrated in the campaign on carrying the laws affecting the Bank of North Dakota, and due to the popularity of the law providing for additional examination of the bank and their approval of the League program, they won a majority in the lower house, which has ranged from one to five votes on recent critical roll calls. The Leaguers captured all the administrative offices of the State, except two or three minor ones, turning out two of the three turncoat officials, and remain in control of the industrial commission and the upper house.

When the law against the Bank of North Dakota went into effect and the private banks of the State began to close, the Opposition, including the bankers, realized their mistake. They saw that they had brought the State face to face with financial disaster. Furthermore, they saw that they had forced the State to stop work on its enterprises, and would have to assume the blame for blocking the program to which it was so overwhelmingly committed. Unless they could do something, they realized that what progress they had made in the late election in turning the League out of control would be undone at the next election. The anti-Nonpartisan League press and leaders of the "I. V. A." began to argue for "harmony" and for compromise of some kind, resulting in a convention of the State bankers at which it was decided to aid the Governor and the industrial commission in selling the State bonds. The sale of these bonds, or a large proportion of them, would, of course, immediately relieve the situation. It would give the Bank of North Dakota funds to offset the withdrawal of public moneys under the initiated law, and to protect its loans on farm lands and to private banks. It would enable the industrial program to proceed.

There was great elation in the League ranks when the Opposition thus offered to help sell the bonds. The League had always maintained that, if the bankers of the State had aided instead of fought the State in its efforts to carry out the organized farmers' program, the bonds would have been sold without difficulty. Eastern financial interests, they pointed out, could not refuse to buy gilt-edged bonds backed by the taxing power of the whole State if the North Dakota bankers really wanted the bonds sold. But when a committee of bankers demanded as a consideration for their aid the promise of the State "not to enter on any more 'socialistic' enterprises" and the reduction of the Bank of North Dakota to a mere rural credits bank, similar to the Federal land banks, Governor Frazier and the industrial commission promptly refused. They said it would be trading to the bankers the sovereignty of the State and involved betraying the people, who at many elections and referendums had backed up with big majorities the industrial program, which even the League Opposition had come to accept.

This was the situation when the legislature met in January. The State administration found that its action in rejecting the bankers' offer met the unanimous approval of the League majority in the Senate and of the Leaguers who constituted nearly half of the lower house. The I. V. A. majority of the House and the League majority of the Senate at once deadlocked. The House organized an "investigation" of the State bank and other State industries, and the Senate immediately did likewise. The House claims to have discovered many minor irregularities, but nothing very serious has been proved, though witnesses have made sensational charges. A leading witness of the I. V. A.'s has been arrested for perjury. The Senate claims to have found the enterprises properly conducted. No legislation that will solve the State's problem has come or is expected to come out of the deadlocked legislature.

A. C. Townley, president of the National Nonpartisan League, was in Kansas and Nebraska supervising organization work of the League during November, December, and January. He was invited to go to North Dakota by the State League organization to give his advice shortly after February 1. He went, and his advice was that the State reopen negotiations with the banks regarding the sale of the State bonds. He felt that the rejection of the first offer of the bankers, without an effort being made to make a counter proposal, put the State and the Nonpartisan League in a position of rejecting a measure aimed at saving the community financially.

When Mr. Townley arrived in Bismarck he found conditions ripe for further negotiations. The Bank of North Dakota had ordered collectors to call on private banks holding Bank of North Dakota funds. They were authorized to force payment of the money to the State bank regardless of the consequences to the private banks. This had scared the Opposition. Business men of Fargo and other cities of the State had again called for a compromise, and were urging some kind of an agreement between the two political factions. Consequently Mr. Townley's advice to resume negotiations with the bankers was followed. As a result, officials of the Bank of North Dakota met with North Dakota and Minneapolis and St. Paul bankers at Minneapolis. The State bank officials asked that these bankers agree to help float at least $6,000,000 of the State bonds. It was felt that that much money would avert a more serious crisis and put the State on the way finally to solve its problem.

Word that these negotiations were under way aroused the politicians of the Opposition. It is safe to say that they

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would not like to see the bonds sold and the League program carried out, though for obvious reasons they do not openly so express themselves. Neither would these "anti" politicians be glad to see the present financial crisis successfully passed over. They want to use the situation to get back in power. So the politicians and newspapers commenced a contemptible campaign to discredit the new negotiations even among Leaguers. Sensational stories were published to the effect that Mr. Townley had agreed to "surrender" the League program, "liquidate" the Bank of North Dakota, abandon the home-building program, and otherwise to sell out the State and the farmers, in order to get $6,000,000 in bonds sold.

Officials of the State bank told the conference of bankers that the only body with authority to agree to any demand for alteration of the organized farmers' program was the legislature, but they pointed out that should the bonds be sold and the League program thus be permitted to be carried out it would be unnecessary for the State bank further to finance the State industries, and that thus its chief functions would naturally be those of a farm loan bank. This was all there was to the Opposition claim that Mr. Townley and State officials had agreed to "liquidate" the State bank.

The North Dakota bankers have not feared so much what the Bank of North Dakota was actually doing as what it might do under its broad charter. Its charter permits it to carry on all kinds of banking functions. It can establish branch banks in competition with the private banks. It can accept saving deposits. The bank, however, declared in 1919 that it would confine its activities to making land loans to farmers and loans on farmers' warehouse receipts, to accepting deposits only from individuals from outside the State, and to financing the State enterprises pending the sale of State bonds. In addition to this the bank has accepted deposits from banks of the State which wanted to keep their reserves in the State bank, and has rediscounted paper of private banks in the State on the same plan as Federal Reserve banks. Its only other function has been to act as a State clearing house. This business has not been in competition with private banks. But the bankers feared what the bank might do under the charter, i. e., establish branch banks in direct competition with private banks for deposits and commercial business.

The officials of the Bank of North Dakota at the Minneapolis conference might well have recommended a legislative amendment to the bank's charter precluding direct competition with private banks and confining its functions practically to what they have been, to the land loan business with farmers. The Minneapolis bankers' meeting, however, after considering the matter a few days, flatly refused to aid in selling any part of the bonds. They claimed Eastern financiers were prejudiced against the State and the bonds, and unless the Eastern bankers would take the bonds they could not be floated. "We cannot carry them without Eastern help," they said. Immediately after the Minneapolis turndown the Bank of North Dakota announced that it would establish branch banks in the chief cities of the State, and would enter into direct competition with the private banks. The bank hopes, through the loyalty of friends of the League, to attract a large part of the saving deposits of the State to its coffers and to take over from private banks a considerable part of the profitable commercial banking business. As this is written the bank has not got under way with this announced plan.

The effect of diverting deposits from private banks, coupled with the State bank's effort to force private banks to pay their obligations to the State bank, is bringing on another and perhaps the final phase of the crisis. The result can only be guessed. The Opposition claims that this policy will wreck 200 to 300 more private banks, and is considering inaugurating a recall against Governor Frazier and League-elected State officials. The I. V. A. held a convention at Bismarck just after the new negotiations at Minneapolis were announced, but pressure from the banking and business interests caused the convention merely to refer the matter of a recall to the organization's executive committee, for future action one way or the other, as events or political expediency justified. Since the failure of the Minneapolis negotiations, the I. V. A. press is urging the recall, and the formal demands of the I. V. A. politicians go far beyond what the banking and business interests had openly demanded as a condition of floating the bond issue. They threaten to proceed with the recall unless the following demands are carried out:

That State Attorney General William Lemke, an officer of the Nonpartisan League, elected with a larger majority than Governor Frazier last fall, resign his public office; that the Bank of North Dakota be put completely out of business, and that the industrial commission be placed in control of the I. V. A.

They also threatened that, even should the bankers take the bonds, they would carry on the recall and their bitter factional strife to capture the State offices, and this probably had no little effect in influencing the bankers at the Minneapolis conference to refuse their cooperation. And the I. V. A. probably wanted it to have that effect. In the meantime the Bank of North Dakota is refusing to honor any more demands by hostile county officials for their funds on deposit in the State bank, and some of the counties have brought suit to collect. State checks and warrants are being held up. Business in the State is disorganized and banks are getting into worse instead of better condition. The State industrial program is held up, and the legislature continues deadlocked. Political feeling is bitter and intense beyond description.

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The German Indemnity: A British View

By J. A. HOBSON

London, February 14

THE recent decision by the Allied Governments regarding the terms of the reparation required for Germany is a new and grave peril to the peace, social order, and economic recovery of Europe. Responsible persons in all countries and of different political attachments had long come to realize the danger of leaving a huge unnamed financial penalty hanging over Central Europe and spreading its paralyzing influence throughout the European system. As distinguished from those wild minds which, concentrating upon the damages attributed to Germany, insisted only upon assessment of her liabilities, these were concerned with the consideration of her assets, so as to discover what sum she could afford to pay and over what period of time, consistently with her political and economic stability and the welfare of the recipient countries. It was generally agreed that under the circumstances in which the Versailles Treaty left Germany, reduced in territory and population, diminished in her coal, iron, and other industrial resources, deprived of her shipping, her foreign property, and trading connections, and otherwise crippled in commercial opportunities, with an almost desperate condition of internal finances, it was of the first importance that the reparation demanded of her should be a fixed sum consistent with her economic recovery and therefore moderate in amount and extending over a period not exceeding thirty years. Although the treaty, in violation of the pre-armistice pledge, by adding pensions and allowances made a total liability far exceeding what could possibly be paid, its terms contained a formal recognition of these principles in the instructions laid down for the work of the Reparation Commission. The new Paris decision violates each of these principles. The size of the determinate sums is based on no consideration of capacity to pay. Attached to these named sums, amounting in the aggregate to £11,300,000,000, is a large but wholly indeterminate demand for 12 per cent upon the export trade, to the fantastic character of which I make later reference. The payments are planned to extend for nearly half a century after the war is over, the economic bondage tightening on an unborn generation of the German people.

I need not argue here the manifest injustice and inhumanity of these demands. It is sufficient to present a few considerations which show its complete impracticability and the injuries which any attempt to enforce such payments must entail upon the economic world and the Allied nations in particular.

Since Germany possesses no considerable quantity of available gold or of salable foreign securities, even to meet the first years' instalments, while the preposterous size and duration of the payments preclude the raising of any large sum by sale or mortgage of internal capital resources, virtually the only means by which payment can be made is export trade. The maximum amount which the German Government can possibly be made to pay is fixed at the surplus of export over import values. For that is the only sum of international money (gold marks) at her disposal. Any valid computation of reparative payments must, therefore, fasten on this sum of annual export surplus as the test and measure of capacity to pay. Since the German Government will have [illegible] Certain surplus out of its business classes, who receive it [illegible] authoress of taxation, they evidently cannot get the whole [illegible] But with this qualification we may take the export [illegible] as the measure.

Now consider first, [illegible] this light, what seems to some the moderation of the first [illegible] annual payments, of £100,000,000 with the added 12 per cent. Since Germany depleted of a large part of her rich natural resources will be compelled to import a larger proportion of the raw materials needed to produce her export goods than in pre-war years, the absolute size of her export trade, to yield a surplus of 100 millions with the 12 per cent, must be very large. "With total exports worth £700,000,000 against imports worth £500,000,000," writes Mr. Keynes, "leaving surplus exports worth £200,000,000, she could just pay a fixed sum of £116,000,000, plus the export proportion of £84,000,000 (making up £200,000,000 in all)." That is to say the lowest of the annual payments, with the added 12 per cent, would amount to something like £200,000,000, to be paid in surplus export goods.

Now it is not seriously arguable that, using every effort to stimulate her foreign trade, Germany should now be able to produce even half this export surplus. In the five years preceding the war her imports of goods exceeded her exports by £74,000,000 upon an average. This excess, however, was more than offset by her "invisible exports," i.e., interest on foreign investments, profits on shipping, banking, trading, etc., and left a substantial net export surplus. But war finance disposed of the foreign investments, converting Germany from a creditor into a debtor nation: the Versailles Treaty has swept away all the other "invisible exports" and has left Germany since the armistice with an export deficit estimated in 1920 to approach £150,000,000. It is not possible for any Allied statesman to show how this deficit can be converted into a surplus even approaching the sums Germany is called upon to pay. Such conversion could only be achieved by a large reduction of imports and a simultaneously large expansion of exports. But since the great bulk of her imports consists of foreign materials and foodstuffs necessary to support her productive industries and her laboring population, and any increase of exports must cause a considerable expansion of these supplies, it is manifest that, even were all luxurious and other unnecessary imports excluded, no considerable net reduction of imports would be possible. It would, therefore, be necessary to look almost entirely to expansion of export goods to enable any reparation to be paid. But the body of the peace terms and the post-war policy of the Allies have been intricately designed to extirpate as far as possible German trading facilities in foreign countries and by various prohibitions and discriminations to stop their reestablishment. Each Allied Government, moreover, is busily devising means to stop Germany from sending into her markets any goods which may compete with and undersell the goods which her own national industries produce or are deemed capable of producing, or from sending into neutral countries goods which would there displace its export goods.

The Allied reparative policy thus aims at stimulating a German export trade, which each Ally acting on its own

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account endeavors to defeat. A humorous turn is given to this policy by the addition of the proceeds of a 12 per cent export duty to the [illegible] of the annual payments. This is expressly intended, [illegible]metimes told, to offset the unfair advantage given t[illegible] in her export trade by reason of the state of her [illegible]. But this effect can only be achieved by reducing [illegible]gregate of German export trade and so diminishing [illegible]ort surplus in which alone the reparation payment can [illegible]de. That is to say, it seeks to reduce the real payment [illegible]e by Germany, from the fixed instalment *plus* the 12 p[illegible]ent, below the level which the fixed instalment taken by itself would have yielded. This absurd result can only be evaded by another equally absurd, though far more probable, viz., the passing on of the export duty to the foreign consumer of the export goods, by which means the Allies would themselves pay a substantial part of the reparation they were supposed to get. Finally, if there were any way of making Germany pay the added export duty, the payment could only be made in more export goods flooding foreign markets and achieving a sale by undercutting the home prices.

But it is needless further to expose the folly and futility of the proposal. If some miraculous stimulus could enable Germany to pay even the smallest of these annual instalments, the process would imply a swamping of our markets with cheap German wares and a shrinkage of our own export trade in foreign markets. The bare suggestion of such a payment at a time like this, with unemployment confronting us in almost all our staple industries, is a record of political fatuity. And yet this is precisely what the Allied decision requires Germany to do and us to suffer! We have argued the case on the most modest terms of payment, the £100,000,000 annual instalment for the first two years. But the scale of subsequent payments reaches the very limits of absurdity. If by a supreme effort of self-abnegation the recipient nations consented to digest this first large "dump" of German cheap exports, so far from winning immunity they are confronted with a series of ascending efforts which in eleven years require them to assimilate a flood of German goods capable of yielding an export surplus which would pay £300,000,000 per annum, with an extra 12 per cent, amounting to, say, £400,000,000 in the aggregate, for a whole generation. Thus German trade, so carefully extirpated by the Versailles Treaty, must not only be restored but must flourish everywhere, offering the bitterest competition to the reviving trade of the Allies. For the obligation to produce year by year this huge export surplus for reparation would compel the German Government to take every possible measure to assist its export trade by such subsidies or other aids to industries or such commercial treaties as lay within its power to make. If the Allied Governments exercised the rights they seem to claim, to interfere with these domestic fiscal and political arrangements of Germany, their interference could only have the effect of further disabling their creditor from meeting the obligations they had forced upon him.

One observation I would make upon the extension of the terms of payment beyond the period laid down in the treaty. This extension, imposing the heaviest burdens upon the unborn and innocent, not only offends justice and humanity, but is an act of economic folly disabling the whole process of reparation. For the economic effort necessary to achieve such reparation as Germany could and ought to make cannot be evoked in a people condemned to hopeless servitude for well-nigh half a century. No sound economic recovery and no productive progress in the arts of industry are possible for a people aware that their utmost efforts cannot enable them to complete their annual task, and that, even could they do so, enlarged demands, backed by constant menaces of political destruction, continually stare them in the face.

The attempt to carry through this policy must lead to the further collapse of the internal finances of Germany and to the gravest social and political disorders. Any attempt to compel payment by Allied seizure of territory or customs and Allied regulation of the internal affairs of Germany, could only alter for the worse the fundamental economic facts upon which I have dwelt. It could not increase, but must diminish, the reparation that can be got.

A sane policy of reparation would fix now a reasonable and a practicable sum to be paid within a single generation by instalments which should begin, say, three or five years hence, when Germany, assisted by the removal of all obstacles to her foreign trade and by such credits as would facilitate her industrial, financial, and commercial recovery, was in a position to produce an export surplus. The instalments would rise from a small beginning by annual increments which would reach a maximum, say, in fourteen years' time and which would gradually sink in size toward the end of the period. In such a way dislocation of industry in the recipient nations would be reduced to a minimum, and the largest aggregate amount of reparation, with the least amount of trade disturbance, would be obtainable.

Is it too late to urge the Allied Governments to a reconsideration of the reparation issue, having regard to the dangers to the economic recovery, the political safety, and the future peace of Europe which lie in the recent decision of Paris? The futility of this grasping, grinding policy is not less apparent than its inhumanity. It can bring no healing to the nations. No real League of Nations is compatible with the enforcement of such a servitude. "Magnanimity in politics," wrote Edmund Burke, "is not seldom the truest wisdom." But if such wise magnanimity be beyond the reach of our victors, it should at least be possible for them to listen to the protests of enlightened self-interest against the unbridled policy of their latest plunge down the road to political and economic ruin.

The Silesian Plebiscite

By S. MILES BOUTON

Berlin, February 7

AMERICAN experts in the line of rigging elections could learn much from studying the work of the Inter-Allied Commission which has made the regulations for the coming plebiscite in Upper Silesia. I am not basing this statement upon charges made by German propagandists, but upon official documents issued by the Commission itself. They make interesting reading, albeit saddening for anyone who believes in a square deal for everybody, whether friend or foe. An American can only be glad that we are not mixed up in the affair. Nominally the English and Italians are both represented on the Commission, and they have some troops in the district, but they play almost no role whatever. It is a close Franco-Polish corporation.

Application blanks for registration for the plebiscite have

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been printed by the Commission, and are being circulated among eligible voters by various Polish and German societies. Each blank bears both Polish and German instructions, the Polish first. The blanks given to the German societies for distribution are called "Muster zu Gesuchen" (very bad German, by the way), but those delivered to the Polish societies for distribution among their friends are merely "Gesuche." It is therefore possible for the Commission to know whether the person signing the application is likely to vote for Germany or for Poland. It is a suspicious circumstance.

Query No. 8 is, in both Polish and German, merely "name." No. 9 says in Polish, "if married, maiden name." The German is merely "maiden name." The result is that hundreds of unmarried women, having first written their name, set down the same name again under No. 9, there being no "if married" to warn them. In such cases the Commission demands a marriage certificate, which, of course, cannot be produced. This adds greatly to the Germans' difficulties in getting all their voters enrolled, and will in many cases result in delaying the final filing of applications until after the last day, disfranchising many Germans who would have been enrolled had the Polish been honestly translated.

The same "mistake" occurs in another blank, designed for persons born outside Upper Silesia, but resident there since January 1, 1904. "Married, widowed or single; if married, maiden name," says the Polish instruction. The German translation again omits the "if married." It is hard to believe that this is accidental.

All persons born in Upper Silesia before January 1, 1900, are entitled to vote, even though they now live outside the province. Only a negligible number of these are Poles. People did not emigrate from a German province, with its high standard of living, order, and cleanliness, into the Poland of the Czars; they went to other parts of Germany. There are tens of thousands of them, and with but few exceptions they will vote for Germany if they get a chance to vote. The Inter-Allied Commission knows this, and it has set up requirements which make it extremely difficult for thousands and impossible for other thousands to vote at the plebiscite. All such persons must give the exact date on which they left Upper Silesia and furnish two witnesses living there who know them personally. Obviously this is impossible for thousands who left their native soil decades ago. They can neither give the exact date nor find anybody who knows them now. A case in point is that of a man who declared that he could find no witnesses in Upper Silesia "because he left there so long ago." He moved away in 1870, fifty years ago, as a child, and has never been back. His application was returned indorsed: "Insufficient application—rejected." The Germans declare this one regulation will cost them thousands of votes. They believe that is the intention, and they are probably right.

The Commission's regulations covering the plebiscite were issued on December 30, 1920. They refer in various places to "proofs of identity." In the plebiscites in East and West Prussia in June of last year the Inter-Allied Commission laid special stress on birth certificates, which it required whenever they could be furnished. This is in accordance with the invariable European custom of regarding such certificates as among the valuable documents establishing identity. And so the Germans naturally began sending in certified copies of them with their applications.

Eight days before the last day for registration, the Commission gave notice that the usual birth certificates would not be accepted as "proof of identity." On the contrary, "a pass, hunting license, etc., even though expired," would be accepted. "This," say the Germans, "is an obvious chicanery and dishonesty. Certificates of birth cannot be secured except from the authorities of the place of birth and upon the basis of the official records. Forgeries could easily be detected. But any pro-Polish head of a small municipality along the Polish border can issue a hunting license or a pass." In any event, the Commission's sudden and complete change of front, its rejection of the very proofs which it required last June, plainly calls for an explanation.

There is a small strip of land on the southwest corner of Upper Silesia which was to go to Czecho-Slovakia in case the vote in the whole province should favor Poland. It was generally assumed that it would remain with Germany if the vote should be for Germany. But this is not true. The Inter-Allied Commission has provided in Article 6 of its regulations, that if the plebiscite turns in favor of Germany, this strip of land "will not be definitely assigned to Germany until after an investigation of all representations which the German Government can make in respect of it." Heads I win, tails you lose. 'Tis an old game.

All that I have written rests, as I have said, upon documents issued by the Commission itself. The following assertions come from Upper Silesians with whom I have talked. I cannot check them up, but they accord with scores of similar reports, and the narrators made the impression of intelligent and honest men. They declare that the Poles, with the tacit consent of the French, are stopping at no outrage or crime to terrorize the German inhabitants. There are sections where no German woman dare venture on the streets after dark for fear of falling into the hands of bands who call themselves "disrobing commissions," and who act as a disrobing commission could be expected to act. There are places where the inhabitants are so terrified that they dare not talk with each other. The papers of two days ago report the case of the chairman of one of the local sections of the Association of Loyal Upper Silesians, who "was shot dead from behind as he was going home." There is no comment in the papers; such cases happen so frequently that no comment is needed.

The superstitions of the more ignorant are being played upon in various ways. Handbills have been distributed to the Roman Catholic population—the great majority of the people—declaring that a delegation of Upper Silesian Poles visited the famous shrine of the Virgin Mary at Czenstochau, and asked her whether she desired Upper Silesia to remain German or become Polish and that she distinctly said "Polish."

Despite all the efforts of the Poles, and of the French, who see in Upper Silesia's vast riches the possibility of getting back some of the money sunk in the Czar's Russia and who realize that there isn't going to be any Poland in a few years, the Germans are confident. If the plebiscite be honestly conducted, they declare, it will prove as great a disappointment for their enemies as did the plebiscites in East and West Prussia. The Poles and French made the peace conferents believe that there was a big Polish population in both these provinces, longing to be transferred to Poland. So plebiscites were ordered. East Prussia gave a vote of 97 per cent in favor of remaining with Germany, West Prussia of 92 per cent.

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Irish and American Independence

By LINCOLN COLCORD

IT constantly is amazing, to one of American revolutionary descent, to reflect how little is made of the analogy between the American and the Irish Revolution. We see many attempts, of course, to draw a comparison between the present revolt in Ireland and the American Civil War; but this plainly is no analogy. The real analogy lies in the earlier period. In the true sense of history—that is, in terms of the motives which inspire men and of the objectives which they seek—Ireland stands today in much the same position as that occupied by the American Colonies in 1776. In both cases, the goal is independence from the British Crown; in both, economic exploitation, which is to say, British Colonial Government, is the dominating factor. In both, also, a Tory Government in Britain precipitates the issue in stupidity and violence, while Liberalism, in the Opposition, protests vigorously.

Modern history stresses the importance of George III in the American conflict, in the laudable effort to throw responsibility on an alien monarch and demonstrate that England's attitude toward the Colonies was not native to her. Yet, in terms of fact and policy, it cannot be denied that it was a British Government which George III dominated in this matter; the nation supported the policy, the Government remained in power; and Lord North was no more of an alien than is Sir Hamar Greenwood. It is no disparagement of the splendid Liberal protest of 1776 in England to recall that it never reached the point of seizing power, and that it fell far short of staying the processes by which the American Colonies were permanently estranged as a political entity from the mother country.

But it is in the simple state of mind of governments and people on both sides of the controversy that the analogy between the Irish and American Revolutions finds its main support. I venture to affirm that the mental and emotional attitude of the Irish patriot of today toward the British Crown is precisely the attitude of the American patriot of 1776. He is dealing with the same set of terms—imperialism, coercion, arbitrary and absentee control. He is taking the same broad stand—to refuse to submit to the sovereignty of Great Britain. He is making the same claim—to set up his own sovereignty, unfettered and unlimited. In short, the Irishman psychologically stands pretty squarely in the shoes of our forefathers, thinks the same thoughts, is inflamed by the same hatreds, objects to the same things, seeks the same ends, and finds himself confronted by the same power. It would be nothing strange to the young Irish patriot, drilling among the hills, if a hundred and fifty years should suddenly drop away and he should find himself among the huddled band of barefoot rebels at Valley Forge; without a break, he could join the conversation where he left it off in Ireland the moment before.

On the other hand, I venture to affirm that the attitude of Government, as well as of British Liberalism, toward the American Colonies in 1776 finds its repetition in their attitude toward Ireland today. Liberalism warned that if the conflict went on in the narrow rut of intolerance and oppression, the die would be cast for nothing short of independence for the Colonies. Government, representing Toryism, fumed and blustered, refused to swallow its pride, invoked the force of arms, and made matters worse with every fresh stroke of policy. In the eyes of Toryism, the Boston Tea Party was a lawless raid, an outburst of anarchy. The Battle of Lexington was a murderous assault by sneaking traitors on the forces of the Crown. Washington and his army were nothing but rebels, bandits, destroyers of law and order. Paul Jones was a pirate of the blackest water. Jefferson was an intellectual radical, a traitor to his class and the existing authority, the worst brand of agitator. The whole cause of American independence stank in the nostrils of Toryism, both in England and America.

Today it is the enterprise for Irish independence which stinks in the nostrils of Toryism. The Irish Republican Army is looked upon as a band of rebels and cutthroats. Patriotic demonstrations become lawless raids and outbreaks of anarchy. Sinn Feiners are all agitators and extremists. Opinion everywhere is directed away from the basic issue, to wit, that Ireland refuses to recognize the sovereignty of Great Britain, and that every event in Ireland must be judged from this standpoint. Perhaps all Sinn Feiners are agitators and extremists. Perhaps all American patriots were in 1776. Such values are relative rather than absolute; and we should be interested only in getting a clear view of the Irish case, apart from cant and propaganda.

For instance, how would it have gone with the American Colonies had they been situated next door to England? Would we have given up the fight; would our fierce ardor for independence have been quenched by the proportions of the task? Never! (I take it that this still would be a legitimate claim.) But with only the Irish Channel to cross, Great Britain could have poured troops at will into our land; the broad Atlantic was our most powerful ally. Practically all the physical power would have remained on the side of the British Crown; and especially so had we faced modern conditions of armament. What course, then, would we have been likely to follow? In all human probability, we would have organized a secret patriotic movement and taken to guerrilla warfare, just as the Irish have done. Washington, instead of marching and counter-marching his inadequate troops to the confusion of the Crown forces, might have been elected Lord Mayor of Cork instead, and thrown down the gauntlet to the Government in a hunger strike. Tactics and leadership go on in changing guise.

The Irish, as I understand it, take the position that Britain has no right to police Ireland; the police are looked on as a branch of the Army of Occupation, and are shot without warning when practicable. The British Government, of course, calls it murder. Allowing for proper differences in the physical and geographical situation, it seems to me that this is about the same position as that taken by our New England farmers in 1776 when they shot down the Redcoats without warning from behind the stone walls of Lexington. The British Government called that murder, too. The "embattled farmers" of Lexington were not forced by the practical exigencies of the case to desist from open warfare, to go into Boston and kill off individual officers of the Crown; but they were acting on the same principle, a principle which, unfortunately for Ireland, has been driven beyond the bounds of traditional revolutionary practice.

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We were indeed fortunate to have escaped the necessity for carrying forward our revolt under the conditions which obtain in Ireland. Ireland's struggle has been longer and harder than ours; she has paid the price a hundred times over of her geographical position; and now it seems as if she were destined to run blood for the next few years. Yet stranger things than Irish independence have happened. If her leaders do not betray the cause (and they will not) it is entirely possible that she may win it. There appears to be no intrinsic reason against Irish independence—only political and diplomatic reasons, which, as history amply proves, are no reasons at all. I have to read a single argument of the British Government on this issue which might not have been advanced with double force (and probably was) against the independence of the American Colonies. Beyond the granting of that independence, however, and a second brief conflict to prove the decision, nothing terrible has taken place between the two countries to this day.

Who can say that our relations with Great Britain would have been as sound as they are today had we failed to gain our independence in 1776?

I am not at all animated by anti-British sentiment in this matter, although beyond question I am animated by sympathy for Irish independence. The two positions are not incompatible, for I am not an Englishman; to my mind they are thoroughly American, in every sense of the word. How shall we continue to glorify the memory of Lexington, to acclaim the "shot heard round the world," to honor our Revolutionary heroes, to teach the Boston Tea Party in our schools as a daredevil patriotic prank, to celebrate the principles and to perpetuate the traditions of 1776—how shall we continue to do all this and at the same time accept the attitude of Toryism toward the Irish Revolution? Nations cannot endure without consistency. Patrick Henry recently was elected to our Hall of Fame. What for, if not for exactly the same sort of record which the young leaders of Sinn Fein are rewriting today in Ireland?

There was a time, while our own revolution was yet fresh in the hearts of succeeding generations, when the great American Republic stood before the world as the friend of peoples everywhere struggling for freedom. It was our proudest boast, our most cherished tradition; and in more than one instance we embodied it in foreign policy. Are we now coming to be ashamed of our former revolutionary attainments and practices; have we fundamentally shifted our national ground? Are we in process of canonizing our revolutionary heroes as saints of reaction? Are we trying to sidestep our splendid tradition of liberty by attributing to extremism every present-day effort for independence, and by branding every foreign patriot as a traitor to government and society?

If so, we are confronted by two obvious correlated facts: first, that we ourselves are now definitely committed to imperialism; second, that our own patriots, the real upholders of our vital traditions, the advocates of true Americanism, are destined to be branded as extremists, as traitors to government and society. We are preparing to make Mexico our Ireland, and to intrench the forces of Toryism beyond the reach of criticism or orderly political control. One thing is linked with another; and if we deny liberty abroad, we have lost liberty at home.

Next week's Nation *will publish an important article entitled Cardinal Bourne and Ireland.*

The Creative Ideal

By N. J. WARE

WE talk glibly of the labor problem as if it were something outside ourselves, to be isolated and discussed as a strange, exotic phenomenon in the best of possible worlds. So much has the alien done for us. So far have we moved since Hawthorne pitched dung at Brook Farm. So successfully has the spirit of the nineteenth century enslaved the spirits of the twentieth. For the labor problem is not an isolated phenomenon at all. Neither is it exotic. Instead of coming with the immigrant, it was the immigrant who delayed its coming. Labor unrest is real enough, but it is no more real than the unrest among farmers, the unrest of young people, of women, artists, and intellectuals generally.

The common characteristic of all those of us who are protestants in modern life is not poverty nor labor by hand. Our common characteristic is that we are all, in greater or less degree, creators. And our protest is against the increasing dominance of those who are merely owners and exploiters. What we experience is a renaissance of the creative spirit trying to throw off the spirit of the nineteenth century, the spirit of possession.

There have always been rich and poor, just as there have always been the strong and the weak. But it was not until the nineteenth century that men ceased to gain wealth and so regard it, as a by-product of some creative activity. In no previous time was acquisition pure and simple regarded as normal and right. Our capitulation to the acquisitive purpose is not complete. We still find some regions in which creative activity dominates. A physician may make money, but his main purpose is to make health. A gentleman receiving his board and lodging and a small allowance for uniform and pocket money will face death operating a battery of guns made by a business man for profit.

Why does not a doctor raise his charges in the face of an epidemic? Why did profits in American corporations rise over 300 per cent from 1914 to 1917, while the incomes of professional classes rose hardly at all? What is the difference between building a church and preaching in it? The difference is simple, of course. In the case of the professions, control has remained in the hands of the creator and reward has remained a by-product of service. In the case of business, control has long since passed out of the hands of the producer, master, journeyman, artist, inventor, and into the hands of the owner per se, the exploiter, the speculator, and service has become the handmaiden of profit.

Until 1800 or thereabouts in America men regarded wealth as a by-product of some creative service. The way to wealth was the perfection of that service. There was such a thing as professional honor in the crafts and trades, the creators had control, unprofessional conduct was the exception. A silk dress was made of silk and not of old tin. Men might get relatively wealthy growing corn, but they could not get beastly rich buying it and selling it again. Men gained money making woolens but they did not get fabulous sums for withholding woolens.

The beginning of the change that we call the industrial revolution came about when Yankee traders, who had made

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exceptional profits dealing with backward peoples, found themselves with money on their hands, and the Southern and Western markets became potential consumers of manufactured goods. The new markets not only required a larger output than the craftsman could well supply, but they required "wholesale" as contrasted with "custom" work, i. e., that goods should be made and stored in advance of sale instead of as a result of sale as formerly.

This was the opportunity for which the new capitalists were looking. They stepped into the breach and began organizing wholesale production for the new national market. Thus was control transferred from the creator to the exploiter and the psychological structure of the industrial revolution completed. The acquisitive purpose of the trader supplanted the creative purpose of the master-craftsman, inventor, artist.

Two more steps were necessary to make the industrial revolution complete: the inventions and the factory system arose to buttress the new purpose in industry and were deflected from their true function by the exploitive purposes of the owner of capital. There is a feeling abroad that the machine is evil, and as we know it the feeling is readily understood. But the moral quality of the machine rests in the use to which it is put and this upon the purpose of those who control it. The inventor regards the machine as a substitute for human toil. In Anderson's new story, "Poor White," there is an interesting comment following a description of the heavy labor of cutting corn by hand:

> Hugh's [corn-cutting machine] took all the heavier part of the work away. . . . The men went along smoking their pipes and talking. The horses stopped and the driver stared over the prairies. His arms did not ache with weariness and he had time to think. The wonder and the mystery of the wide, open places got a little into his blood. At night, when the work was done and the cattle fed, he did not go at once to bed, but sometimes went out of his house and stood for a moment under the stars.

This is the result of machinery introduced by the producer. Compare the following account of a laborer's work in the steel industry for the result of machinery introduced under the exploiter:

> Job of labor in the clean-up gang in pit of open-hearth furnaces: the pit is the half-open space where the furnaces are tapped into ladles and poured into ingot molds. As the hot metal comes from the taphole, much spills and must be broken with picks when half cooled and cleaned out and slag and scrap separated into different cars.
>
> The job is: clean up cinder when ladle is dumped, break clay covers from valve pipes, pile pipes at side of pit, repile pipes on flat car. . . . Affix chains for swinging them to blacksmith's door, repile in shop. Get straightened pipes back to shop by same series of steps; same going and returning for broken chains. Affix hooks to ladles, when crane shoves ladle in your face. Clean out all hot cinder and scrap under all furnaces. Take cinder by hand or barrow to cinder boxes. Clean hot overflow metal or slag from tracks. Very hot work. Heavy work, but considered here as one of the easier jobs. Hours 14 on night turn, 10 hours on day turn, long turn of 24 hours every two weeks.

The last stage of the industrial revolution took place when the commercial house became solely a banking house. Then the last vestige of the creative function passed away and the purely acquisitive took its place. Modern industry, one might almost say modern life, has passed into the hands of money lenders.

Thus it is wrong to isolate the labor problem. Labor is the most self-conscious group working against degradation, but all moderns feel the strain of the conflict and indeed are participants in it. The farmer sees something wrong in an ideal that rewards the manipulator and punishes the producer. Struggling against a mortgage and an unkind heaven, he sees the holder of the mortgage wax fat and the smart city man make millions, juggling with corn that the farmer created by the grace of God and much sweating toil.

The professional classes—the physician, the clergyman, the teacher, the librarian, the journalist—are increasingly conscious of the pressure. The architect cannot fail to see the unmistakable link between his enforced idleness of the past two years, when building was urgently needed, and the amazing revelations of the Lockwood Committee in New York State that all construction materials are controlled by small groups in the interest of neither housing, nor general business, nor the public, nor the community, nor even their own *reasonable* benefit, but for their own extraordinary, incredible, manifold, skyrocketing profit. The engineer, in the face of evident and needed projects for liberating vast forces of nature for the use of mankind, has long felt the oppression of pathetic dependence on the financier's O. K., judged by the latter not in terms of service, not even in terms of profit to himself, but of *sufficiently great* profit. And therein lies the issue around which the new and better world will recrystallize.

In the Driftway

WHEN the Drifter was at the age where children are exposed to Sunday school, he learned the goodly tale of a Christian knight who, on one of the Crusades, fell into the hands of a heathen Turk. The cruel Moslem harnessed his captive to a plow, and whipped him as he would have whipped an ox—and the Drifter gathered that the lot of a Turkish ox was not a happy one. After many years of toil in the fields, the poor knight was finally ransomed and returned to his Christian home. But no sooner had he been restored to his ancestral estate than a new Crusade began, and again he answered the call. This time his side won, and he took prisoner the very Turk who had captured him and harnessed him to a plow. The knight took his prisoner back to the West; and after the feasts of victory had been properly celebrated, visited the captive in his dungeon. "What do you expect?" he asked. "Retribution," answered the Turk. "Yes," said the noble Christian knight. "Christian retribution. We Christians forgive our enemies. Go home in peace. Be merciful henceforth, and may God be with you." "Alas," the poor Turk replied, beating his breast. "How could I have known that such mercy existed on earth? I have taken poison and am about to die. But before I die, O noble Christian, teach me, I beseech you, the religion that begets such nobility." Whereupon the Christian hastily initiated his prisoner into the mysteries of the faith, and the Turk died a Christian.

* * * * *

Even at Sunday school age the Drifter felt a certain fairy-tale quality in this story, remote enough from the world in which the owners of cherry trees chased little boys who pilfered cherries. But he believed it as much as he believed any of the stories that he learned in school

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or Sunday school, and in the hours immediately following his release from Sunday school he sometimes longed for an opportunity to exemplify the noble Christian spirit that welled up in him. He was disappointed that he found no Turks to practice on, in the streets through which he passed homeward bound. Today he supposes that the story has been eliminated from the Sunday school books. For nowadays good Christians preach that the Turk was the truer Christian. Had the Christian knight been a 1921-model eight-cylinder Christian, he would have seized most of the Turk's possessions, half starved his children, loaded him with heavy chains, and fixed his ransom at the equivalent of forty-two years hard labor. What mollycoddles and spineless jellyfish the old-fashioned Christians were!

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Conduct of Americans Abroad

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The presumption of exaggeration in the statement of a competent American observer that "many American soldiers and not a few of the American officers treated France as if they did not care a damn who owned it" while they were "over there" will be weakened by the following extract from a letter from St. Lucia, a British possession, essentially of French civilization, in the West Indies:

> Some American warships called at Castries last week and, while the men as a whole did not behave as badly as they had done recently at Martinique and Barbados, some of them lived up to their reputation. . . . Two drunken sailors went into C.'s drug store and, after begging insistently for cigarettes and making themselves a nuisance generally, one of them asked the proprietor whether he thought he was drunk. Mr. C., who neither drinks nor smokes, said "Yes, you are drunk," whereupon the man replied with a coarse insult. As C. made for the man to throw him out of the store, two of the women clerks caught the druggist by the arms so as to avoid a scene. While they held him, the drunken coward suddenly struck him on the mouth, breaking his lip and knocking out his teeth, and then ran out of the store with his companion. The brutes were not pursued, for fear they might bring their friends and break up the store, and an official complaint would only have led to costly and futile international discussions, at most.

Imagine the impression that people in the West Indies, and in many other places, have of Americans, the Americans that they see and know. That impression was confirmed only the other day when Marines in Nicaragua destroyed the plant of a newspaper which had dared to criticize their conduct. Instead of trying to correct this impression by seeking to remove its causes—national bad manners and disrespect for other peoples—the Americans who stay at home clamor for vengeance when a member of their armed forces gets killed for becoming a law unto himself in another land. Instead of inculcating the real discipline of self-restraint and manly tolerance in the members of these forces as well as other citizens, the authorities content themselves with the relentless persecution of all and sundry grog in the shade of the Stars and Stripes, only to let loose all the pent-up energies of the demon rum in some hapless alien haven. American civilians, in such cases, do so love to tell, often with vivid imagination, how "the boys" beat up the town and knock down the policemen, confident as they all are that a patriotic press at home and a departmental court of inquirers will find no reason to reduce the heavy-fisted trouble-seekers from their high estate among the divinely appointed benefactors of mankind.

There is renewed talk, in Congress and in the press, about the acceptance of the West Indies in payment of European war debts to the United States, and some superficial visitors profess to have found in the islands a strong sentiment in favor of such transfer of sovereignty. It may be that some West India merchants see in the annexation of the islands to the United States a sure way to remove the exchange premium on the dollar which is making prohibitive the price of flour and salted codfish; but if a plebiscite will have any weight in the settlement of the war debts of the parent countries, it is certain that the people of Martinique and Guadeloupe will prefer to do what they can as Frenchmen in feeling and in fact, and the natives of the other islands as Britishers by force of necessity, rather than to constitute American punching bags or problems in colonization and race assimilation.

New York, February 18 JAIME C. GIL

How Not to Settle the Race Problem

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Bruce Bliven, writing on The Japanese Problem for the February 2 issue of *The Nation*, quotes a San Joaquin rancher as saying: "I won't let my children go to school with them [the Japanese] and I won't have anything to do with them if I can help it." How long is it going to be before we have any different spirit governing international affairs if one generation after another is brought up in the atmosphere of animosity shown by this father? Children left to themselves have no such feeling toward each other and associate freely with each other.

In the part of Oakland in which I live there is a large floral establishment conducted by Japanese. The men employed there, at least some of them, have their families with them so that there are children attending the public school. They go back and forth with American children, play with them in the school yard, go to the public library together and to a common Sunday school, and there is no complaint on the part of teachers or parents that American children are harmed by association with their darker-skinned playmates.

Let our children alone. They do not need to be inspired with hate and animosity toward those whose parents happened to be born in another part of the world. Past generations and their method of dealing with each other have not settled international problems. Why inspire coming generations with these same worse than futile, wicked, and dangerous ideas—a failure in the past, increasingly a failure, increasingly a danger for the present and future?

Oakland, Cal., February 8 GERTRUDE H. WARWICK

Trade the Caribbean Islands for the Debt

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: What's all this rubbish about canceling the French debt? The next thing we will hear that we have to cancel the British debt, too. If the economic situation in Europe calls for such heroic measures, if we have to relieve perishing Austria, ward off bolshevism in the Central European countries by relieving France and England, there is a very simple, effective, and just method of so doing.

France possesses several small islands in the Caribbean, principally the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. They are not much use to France. They might not be of much use to the United States, although their acquisition would certainly please a great number of people in this country who believe in our "manifest destiny in the Caribbean." On the other hand, these Americans who rightly resent our indecent and utterly unjustifiable seizure of Haiti and Santo Domingo (which we will, of course, have to return to their rightful owners) cannot disapprove of the wholly legitimate procedure of purchasing, an historically American method which we used in acquiring Florida, the Middle Northwest and Alaska, and the Danish West Indies.

Then there are the British Bahamas, the British Lesser An-

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tilles, the Bermudas, the island of Jamaica, to say nothing of British Honduras.

Come, gentlemen, financiers, and economists at home and abroad, if you want cancelation, let us talk business! Set your valuation on your Caribbean possessions. (You will make it high enough, we have no doubt.) Then give us, if you can, a single valid reason against this proposal if you really need and desire relief, through cancelation or postponement of your just interest charges as they fall due.

New York, February 21 EDWARD T. HUIDEKOPER

European Imperialism vs. Cancelation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I just finished reading an article in *The Nation*, issue of January 19, by Mr. Pierrepont B. Noyes, "Shall We Cancel France's Debt?"

I think that such a suggestion at this time, while France is being ruled by the iron heel of militarism, is positively disgusting. It would not be a benevolent act, but simply a loan to carry on further military exploits such as backing such monarchical renegades as Baron Wrangel, and the imperialist friends of France as Poland, to carry on new wars against a broken-down, poverty-stricken nation that has democratic ambitions and has been begging the world for peace ever since the armistice. Those of us who try to keep on the feather edge of the world's events cannot help but think that the next imperialistic military aim of France is to help finance either Belgium or Hungary to carry on her dirty work. Why should we be taxed to help France carry on such rotten exploits?

If France is so near bankruptcy and is so sincere in wanting peace and economy (which the world needs so badly), why did she vote against disarmament at the meeting of the first Congress of the League at Geneva? The present ruling bunch in France seems to have more imperialistic ambitions than Prussia ever had, and she needs a lesson. If bankruptcy will furnish that lesson then I say let her have it. Such imperialistic anarchy must be stopped at all cost or democracy will become a mockery.

Morocco, Indiana, January 19 GUY E. ROADRUCK

That Extraordinary Parallel

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a recent issue you speak of the "extraordinary parallel between the cause of our thirteen colonies in 1776 and that of Ireland today," and express a desire that the facts in the case be widely known. As I am neither a propagandist nor a controversialist and am not likely to be charged with ignorance of the subject or with an ex-parte desire to interpret history in the interest of either Great Britain or Ireland, I can perhaps aid you in making some of the facts known. No such parallel exists. The likeness that you mention is of so superficial a character as to deceive only those who are willing to be deceived. This is generally the case with historical parallels when drawn between events separated by long periods of time. The situation can best be tested by looking at the matter from an angle slightly different from that usually adopted. You speak with confidence of this "extraordinary parallel" as if it were something that really existed and should be given consideration in discussing the Irish question of today. Are you sufficiently confident to go a step farther and maintain that had the American colonies, in the years from 1774 to 1776, received from the British Government of that day such concessions as Great Britain has made to Ireland in the last twenty-five years, including so favorable a representation in the British Parliament, they would have risen in revolt in 1776?

Yale University, February 14 CHARLES M. ANDREWS

[See Lincoln Colcord's article in this issue.—ED. NATION.]

Books

The American Inquisition

Freedom of Speech. By Zechariah Chafee, Jr. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

WE have had much freedom of speech about freedom of speech. From soap-boxes and from platforms of the National Security League have come competing vociferations of shallow minds that equally fail to appreciate the intricacies of the problem they dispose of so cavalierly. The great merit of Professor Chafee's book is that he understands the complexity of the issue of free speech and places his readers in a position to reach intelligent conclusions of their own. One does not have to agree with him in order to derive enlightenment from what he has to say. There are some, of course, like Mr. Archibald Stevenson in the *Times Book Review*, who will like to believe that "the book is interesting only because it illustrates a passing phase of incorrigible sentimentality." But such a belief can be enjoyed only by one who is woefully stupid or who adopts the easy device of reading the book by title only. Mr. Chafee writes with zeal—with incorrigible zeal, if you will; but the zeal is only motive power; at the wheel is an acute and effective intellect. In substance he has given us three books in one: a legal treatise, a history, and a propagandist essay. Each, perhaps, would have been stronger of its kind had it not been interwoven with the others; yet the three together are much stronger than any one would be alone. Propaganda is not at the moment a word of favor, but of such were the "Areopagitica" and the essay "On Liberty." If Mr. Chafee does not uniformly maintain the majesty of Milton or of Mill, his quips and his jibes will not be distasteful to the large majority of his readers, and in most instances they are justified by the provocation if not by the most punctilious canons of taste. They keep even the legal discussion from becoming dull or dry. Each of the three authors is a dramatist who never fails to hold the attention of his audience.

The first three chapters, composing nearly half of the book, are concerned with the enforcement of the Espionage Acts of 1917 and 1918. At the outset, the author rejects both of the extreme views that the Constitution guarantees unlimited freedom of speech or that the First Amendment goes to sleep in time of war. This latter position is approached by Professor Corwin who declares in the *Yale Law Journal* that "the elbow-room accorded Congress by the 'necessary and proper' clause is admittedly broad, and it is a sound maxim that the Constitution does not grant power in one place to withdraw it in another." This alleged soundness is effectively exploded by Mr. Chafee when he points out that "if the First Amendment is to mean anything, it must restrict powers which are expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress, since Congress has no other powers." He reminds us, too, that the First Amendment concededly does not limit the States and that it and the others adopted at the same time were promised in advance in order to secure the ratification of the Constitution by allaying the apprehensions that the newly created national government might emulate George III in trampling upon the liberties of the people. Yet these restrictions on governmental powers are not absolute. Mr Chafee recognizes that some utterances are punishable, notwithstanding the First Amendment. He accepts the principle laid down by Mr. Justice Holmes for a unanimous Supreme Court that "the question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent." Mr. Chafee quarrels with the Supreme Court only when the majority of that body seem to him to forget the test of "clear and present danger" and to sustain convictions for words that have only a "tendency" to bring about the substantive evils that may be guarded against. Certain it is that some of the

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utterances for which men have been imprisoned have done no other harm than to enrage the few determined parlor patriots* who were the only ones to hear them. Whether the danger test would require the reversal of any of the convictions that have run the gauntlet of the Supreme Court is another question and one on which agreement with the author, though possible, is not inevitable. Proof of the danger was certainly lacking. The jury was allowed to "infer" it. The freedom with which the newspapers printed in full the statements assumed to be fraught with such grave danger raises a question not easily answered by those who cherish the convictions of the defendants and insist that those convictions were imperative to insure the winning of the war.

The atmosphere in which some of the prosecutions were conducted is shown by the third chapter with its vivid account of the famous Abrams trial before Judge Clayton. For lack of dignity and for confusion of intellect the presiding julge seemed to seek his models in the broadsides of the defendants whom he was prosecuting. Other district judges must in cooler times be equally regretful that court stenographers took down what they said. Among notable exceptions pointed out by the author are Judge Learned Hand and Judge Augustus N. Hand in New York City and Judge Amidon in North Dakota. Mr. Chafee pays a tribute, too, to the worthy conception of duty entertained by John Lord O'Brien of Buffalo and Alfred Bettman of Cincinnati, who held the posts of Assistants to the Attorney General in charge of the administration of the Espionage Act. "Great praise," he says, "must be given to their thorough investigation of hundreds of convictions, as a result of which sentences imposed by the judges were in many instances commuted by the President to a small fraction of their original length." Yet much of the story is one of a judicial system acting in a rage. The widespread manifestations of this travesty on the blindfolded lady with the even scales show the limited importance of the precise line drawn by the Supreme Court in interpreting the Constitution. Mr. Chafee's recital makes it clear that in times of passion juries will run wild in spite of all the formal principles of constitutional law that may be laid down, and that the restricted reviewing power of trial judges and of appellate courts will often prove incapable of reversing verdicts that quite plainly are animated by abhorrence or vindictiveness rather than by a sane judgment that the constitutional or statutory limits of free speech have been exceeded. His accounts of the administration of the law make somewhat scholastic his acute discriminations between the tests laid down by the Supreme Court and those which he thinks should have been adopted. Obviously, the issues of constitutional law are relatively minor elements in a much greater problem. Nine men in Washington cannot hold a nation to ideals which it is determined to betray. Whether justice is done to the particular defendant is important, but in the long run less important than whether a nation does justice to itself. Its standard should be its own honor and dignity rather than the deserts of some misguided recalcitrant or the limits of its constitutional power. The author's recognition of this leads him frequently to point out the folly of what he concedes may be constitutional. Sometimes he seems to impair the integrity of his concessions by the sharp thrusts he makes at details that follow naturally therefrom. This quite likely is due to the fact that he is writing three books and not one only. The historian and the propagandist interrupt the lawyer. Their rudeness, however, should be pardoned for the greater importance of what they have to say. So much that is neither illegal nor unconstitutional offends other canons equally worthy of respect.

Many sincere apologists for the excesses in the enforcement of the Espionage Acts have much to say about the special dangers of disaffection in time of war. They remind us that when killing is going on we cannot expect much tenderness toward talk. This, however, does not go to the question whether suppression is the best plaster for drawing the disaffection. The wise man even in his wrath will consider whether his means contribute toward his ends. With the cessation of hostilities, the most grievous impediments to such consideration are removed and the advent of an open season for sanity may be hoped for. Yet events since the armistice demonstrate that sanity has far from fully asserted itself. The habit of jailing men whose opinions are distasteful is not a war-time anomaly. Determined seekers readily find new witches for old. The war has left in its train a succession of proscriptions of opinion that greatly surpass the unwisdom of anything done before. In spirit if not in results the period through which we are passing is one that historians may look back upon as the American Inquisition. The study of this period and of its forerunners in England and America fills the second and more important half of Professor Chafee's book. His pages are so packed with detail that any summary is necessarily inadequate. Our enacted and proposed peace-time legislation against sedition and our deportation of aliens have been justified as directed only against preachers of force and violence. For such preachers Mr. Chafee asks no quarter, but his story of how such laws are actually enforced leaves one in grave doubt whether protection against force and violence is their motive. It could hardly have been to protect against force and violence that the Socialist members were excluded from the New York Assembly. It is not to protect against force and violence that teachers of Socialist proclivities are dismissed from the schools. It is not abhorrence of force and violence that leaves the Rev. Mr. William Sunday at liberty to say: "If I had my way with these ornery wild-eyed Socialists and I. W. W.'s, I would stand them up before a firing squad and save space on our ships." For threats of force and violence, for bad manners, for intemperate harangue, for violation of law, Mr. Chafee points to examples among the prosecutors that rival any of the offenses they profess to condemn. The line of cleavage between what has been proscribed and what has been permitted runs as often between opposing opinions and desires as between differing ways of urging them. One of the most tragic features of the inquisition is the extent to which the officers of the law and their backers have stolen the temper of the objects of their zeal. Whatever of legal right and of practical wisdom there may be in the things that have been done, there remains the stain of the spirit and the methods which have inspired and accompanied them.

Such are the impressions forced upon the reader by Mr. Chafee's recital. Subtract what you will for possible errors of detail, and the impression still remains. Hear what his critics have to say, and the impression is enhanced rather than diminished. The worst offenses have been committed in the conduct of the deportations. The constitutional prohibitions against unreasonable searches and seizures have received scant respect. The procedure laid down by statute has too frequently been disregarded. Patent and confessed wrongs have been left unredressed. The violence of the purging process has been such as to increase the very evil it professedly seeks to eradicate. In the name of orderly government we have been disorderly. In fear of the new Russian regime, we have emulated its predecessor. The victims have not been so numerous that it would be unwarranted to require their sacrifice to any serious national need. But the smallness of their numbers is itself proof of the absence of any such need. More important still is the certainty established by Mr. Chafee that such need as has been present might have been met by respectable methods. He shows how the normal law against violence and anarchy and the normal criminal law of words are adequate to punish those who counsel wrongful deeds. He points out that spectacular raids are less likely to get the dangerous offenders than to corral the harmless folks who satisfy their instincts by attending meetings. The worst feature of the substantive provisions of the deportation statute is that it makes membership in vaguely described associations one of the tests of who shall be

* "Parlor patriots"!—if this phrase could only have been coined earlier and used properly it might have hindered a hundred excesses—C. V. D.

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deported. Stirring phrases in apocalyptic platforms may readily be made the excuse to impute threats of violence to the tamest souls who pay as little heed to their party pronouncements as church members commonly pay to their prescribed creed. As Mr. Chafee remarks: "those Republicans and Democrats who shout for the deportation or imprisonment of the entire Communist Party because of certain clauses in its platform might recover their sense of humor long enough to ask themselves if they ever indorsed every plank in their respective party platforms. . . . Let us deport men for the injuries they do or, if we must, for what they say, but stop condemning them for the grandiose phrases of a party creed."

To current history and to a discussion of its legal and constitutional aspects Mr. Chafee adds accounts of former experiences of a similar sort. He shows how the tradition of liberty has developed out of the defeats of those who have stood in its way. Thus he gives the requisite background for the thoughtful appraisal of the events of recent years. To one who perceives the lessons of history, the facts of the present speak for themselves. It is easier to be sure that we have gone too far than to know just where we should have stopped. Those who will not draw the line where Mr. Chafee draws it will still find his book a great help in deciding where they will draw it for themselves. This is its greatest merit. It gives the data for an intelligent judgment. The legal aspects of the problem no longer remain mysteries for the layman. Apparently worthy words in a statute no longer seem wholly worthy or innocuous. It is made clear that the merits of a law must be tested by what can be done in the name of the law. As a compendium of information Mr. Chafee's book deserves the widest reading. There is room for difference of opinion as to his personal equation and his manner of expressing it. Some may think that he uses a hundred pop-guns when one Big Bertha would be better. He is not wholly free from that intensity of emotion that is a potent factor in the excesses of intolerance from which we have suffered. This sometimes regrettably comes out in irony, innuendo, and sarcasm. The philosophical considerations in favor of freedom from oppression on account of opinion are elucidated less profoundly than might be desired. Too often they come in the interstices or as flying buttresses rather than foundations. Fortunately this does not very greatly matter when we can turn to Milton and to Mill. We must remember that Mr. Chafee was writing on the firing line and that something else would have been sacrificed had he waited for perfect poise. We owe him so much for writing three essential books that we can readily forgive him for not including a fourth.

THOMAS REED POWELL

Gorki's Tolstoy

Reminiscences of Tolstoy. By Maxim Gorki. Authorized Translation from the Russian by S. S. Koteliansky and Leonard Woolf. B. W. Huebsch, Inc.

TOLSTOY somewhere divides people into those who accommodate the truth to their lives and those who accommodate their lives to the truth. A small band, the truth-seekers; to catch two of them within the covers of one little book, to watch each explore the other's personality and measure the other's truth, is the rare opportunity afforded by Gorki's fragmentary reminiscences of Tolstoy. Among the truth-seekers Gorki has conquered the right to stand near Tolstoy by his steadfast courage in facing and studying the perplexing and sometimes appalling events of the Russian Revolution. Others have found it more pleasant to test the Revolution by their truth, instead of testing their truth by the Revolution. The truth that is revealed is often ugly; truth will continue to be rough, writes Gorki in a recent estimate of Lenin's character, until men make it as beautiful as their music, one of the finest truths they have created. As long as truth is rough, the truth-seeker will be lonely. The loneliness of Tolstoy again and again impressed Gorki, as he watched him during those months in the Crimea in 1901. Sometimes the old magician sat in a corner, "tired and gray, as though the dust of another earth were on him"; remote, indifferent to people, "alien to all, a solitary traveler through all the deserts of thought, in search of an all-embracing truth which he has not found."

"Which he has not found," declares Gorki. For he was not satisfied with Tolstoy's truth. Truth-seekers seldom are contented with one another's fragments of the scattered body of truth. It was perhaps inevitable that Gorki and Tolstoy should disagree on many points. They were of different generations; one sprang from the top, the other from the bottom of Russian society. "His interest in me is ethnological," noted Gorki a little resentfully; "I belong to a species not familiar to him." He at first suspected Tolstoy of playing the *barin*—using the vulgar language of street and market-place because he judged his guest incapable of comprehending any other. Later he understood that Tolstoy employed the "salty peasant words" simply because they were the most expressive. But Tolstoy could play the *barin* when he chose, as over-familiar admirers sometimes learned to their cost; the grand aristocrat arose under the peasant beard and crumpled blouse, and "the noses of the simple-hearted visitors became blue with intolerable cold." Gorki takes an artist's delight in the "exquisite pointedness of his murderous words" on these occasions. With Gorki, he was not the *barin* but the cross-examiner. His questions had a deadly directness, often a touch of mischievous malice: You don't like me? What do you think of yourself? Do you love your wife? And "to lie to him was impossible." He puzzled over Gorki: "You are funny . . . very funny. . . . Your mind I don't understand—it's a very tangled mind—but your heart is sensible." His probing was interesting, yet it made the victim squirm a little; "he is the devil, and I am still a babe, and he should leave me alone." Truth-seekers are evidently not very comfortable companions. Cousin Truth is charming, as Rolland's Polichinelle observes, but what a temperament!

It was pleasanter for Gorki when the artist in Tolstoy was uppermost. He relates a striking little incident in which the artist speaks with unembarrassed directness. Tolstoy had been reading at twilight a scene from his "Father Sergius." At the end, closing his eyes, he said distinctly, "The old man wrote it well—well!" "It came out with such amazing simplicity, his pleasure in its beauty was so sincere, that . . . my heart stopped beating for a moment, and then everything around me seemed to become fresh and revivified." It is of Tolstoy the thinker, the seer, however, that the most beautiful single passage of the book is written. Gorki came upon him sitting among the stones on the beach, a smallish figure, in gray, crumpled, ragged suit and crumpled hat, "with his head on his hands, the wind blowing the silvery hairs of his beard through his fingers. He was looking into the distance out to sea. . . . It was a day of sun and cloud, and the shadows of the clouds glided over the stones, and with the stones the old man grew now bright and now dark. . . . He seemed to me like an old stone come to life, who knows all the beginnings and the ends of things, who considers when and what will be the end of the stone, of the grasses of the earth, of the waters of the sea, and of the whole universe, from the pebble to the sun." This was the explorer who "scattered about him the living seeds of indomitable thoughts."

"I do not know," wrote Gorki after Tolstoy's death, "whether I loved him; but does it matter, love of him or hatred? . . . Even the unpleasant and hostile feelings which he roused were of a kind not to oppress but rather to explode the soul." Gorki disliked Tolstoy's "unspeakably vulgar" talk of women—talk marked by a cold hostility, with something personal as if he had once been hurt and could neither forget nor forgive. He was irritated by Tolstoy's perverse peasant attitude toward science. But he was most hostile when he detected in Tolstoy the despotic inclination to give a sanction to his teaching by

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suffering and martyrdom, to turn the life of Count Leo Nikolaevich into "the saintly life of our blessed father, boyard Leo." He felt that it was an attempt to use violence on those who could not accept his teaching on its own merits, "a desire to get hold of my conscience, to dazzle it with the glory of righteous blood, to put upon my neck the yoke of a dogma." This is keen comment on the non-resistant who may withhold the physical only to deal the spiritual blow. Gorki told Tolstoy that he liked "active people, who resist the evil of life by every means, even by violence." "And violence is the chief evil!" exclaimed Tolstoy. In non-resistance Gorki felt the danger of mere passivity, always too alluring to the Russian Oblomov. And he feared the creation of a Tolstoy legend that would hold a peculiar danger for the disillusioned, weary Russians in the aftermath of the 1905 revolution. "Lacerated and starving, they long for a legend. They long so much for alleviation of pain . . . and they will create just what he desires, but what is not wanted, the life of a holy man and a saint." Gorki would have none of the saint. To him Tolstoy was a "tormentingly beautiful man." "Let him remain a sinner close to the heart of the all-sinful world."

The book leaves an unforgettable impression of two truth-seekers, and gives a glimpse of a third, for Chekhov is there, too. A small volume harboring these three Russian truth-seekers and truth-tellers and artists takes its place on a shelf of recent books with an effect like that when Tolstoy himself entered a room: "He would come out looking rather small, and immediately everyone around him would become smaller than he."

DOROTHY BREWSTER

On the British Parliament

The Evolution of Parliament. By A. F. Pollard. Longmans, Green and Company.

THIS is a book that all serious students of English constitutional history will have to take into account, though it is not addressed exclusively to them. It is rather a collection of more or less closely articulated essays on various phases of English parliamentary history than a systematic account of the development of parliament; the author makes no attempt to deal with many subjects that fall within the scope of his title.

It is as a specialist in the history of England in the sixteenth century that Professor Pollard is best known to scholars, and it was his study of the Tudor constitution, he tells us, that led him back to the Middle Ages for answers to questions which it raised; "historical curiosity combined with an academic interest in politics to expand an introduction to the constitutional history of the Tudor period into an essay on the place of parliament in the past, the present, and the future of the English state." Like Professor McIlwain in his "High Court of Parliament," Mr. Pollard leans heavily upon Maitland's Introduction to the "Memoranda de Parliamento," published in the Rolls Series in 1893, an essay that may properly be called epoch-marking in the historical study of the medieval English parliament. Mr. Pollard says modestly that there would have been less reason for his book had Maitland's essay not been ignored in England for nearly a generation. An American reviewer trusts that he will not be charged with chauvinism if he adds that it would be equally true to say that there would have been less reason for its publication if American books on English constitutional history were better known in England; for it is not going too far to assert that the most significant work in this field during the last fifteen or twenty years has been done by American scholars. Much in Mr. Pollard's volume that would seem most novel to an Englishman who had learned his constitutional history in Taswell-Langmead, or Medley, or even in Stubbs, is to be found in the brilliant essay that Mr. McIlwain published ten years ago.

The most philosophical of living American jurists reminds us that a word "is not a crystal, transparent and unchanged," but "the skin of a living thought," which "may vary greatly in color and content according to the circumstances and the time in which it is used." It is, perhaps, the varying content of the word "parliament" that will make the deepest impression on the reader of Mr. Pollard's book. In the earliest definition of an English parliament the word is used in the plural number: *habet enim rex curiam suam in consilio suo in parliamentis suis;* and it is with "parliaments," not with a fixed and stereotyped institution, that parliamentary history has to deal. There is little enough in common between those "parleys of the council" that Edward I held at Westminster for the better ordering of justice, in which Maitland saw the heart and essence of the earliest English parliaments, and the institution in which the British state now finds its legal embodiment; and the present House of Commons bears little resemblance to those obscure meetings of knights and burgesses in the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey during the late Middle Ages. When the revolutionary syndicalist confidently assures us that parliament is bankrupt, he implies that is a rigid institution. Its friends may, if they will, derive aid and comfort from Mr. Pollard's pages. One need not be a stand-patter, and defend every anachronism of the present-day parliament, to have faith in the future of an institution that has back of it the history of the English parliament. Mr. Pollard knows this history, and therefore he can proclaim his belief in parliament and yet say that the House of Lords is "moribund."

The title that the author has chosen for his book suggests a point of view that is all too common among institutional historians today. If the term "evolution" were used to denote nothing more than consecutive change, no fault could be found with it; it would be as correct to speak of the evolution of parliament as of the evolution of species. But the word comes to us from biology, and it carries with it, almost inevitably, the conceptions and hypotheses of that science. When the historian uses it he loses sight of the fact that there is one evolution of species, another of stars, another of steam engines, and another of parliaments; he thinks only of biological evolution. Thus Mr. Pollard can gravely write that the history of parliament "is mainly concerned with the evolution of institutions from a common protoplasm and with their mutual struggles for recognition and predominance." And when he asserts that in the Middle Ages institutions are not made but "grow," he implies that at some point of time the mechanical process was substituted for the biological, a proposition that he would probably not care seriously to defend. It is true, of course, that institutions are never made brand new, without precedent, in historical isolation. There is such a thing as institutional heritage and environment, and from it the boldest revolutionist cannot wholly escape. No man or body of men deliberately planned the parliament of England; neither did any man plan Westminster Abbey. But it does not follow that either parliament or the abbey "grew." Mr. Pollard is much more convincing when he forgets his biological metaphor, as, for example, when he accounts for the disappearance of the sovereign's corporeal presence from parliament not on the analogy of an atrophied organ or the elimination of the unfit but by the fact that Edward VI was a minor and the next two rulers were women.

The eighteen chapters into which the book is divided are of uneven merit from the point of view of historical scholarship. Some of them, especially those on The Myth of the Three Estates, The Fiction of the Peerage, and The Growth of the House of Commons, are valuable contributions to the literature of English parliamentary history; others add little to what was already known; still others are avowedly not history at all. Yet all of them are worth reading, and some will repay close study.

R. L. SCHUYLER

The Pauper Witch of Grafton

a poem by Robert Frost, will appear in The Nation *in an early issue.*

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Ecclesiastes in Virginia

Figures of Earth. By James Branch Cabell. Robert M. McBride and Company.

THERE are two main epic cycles of Poictesme, which deal respectively with the deeds of Jurgen and the deeds of Manuel. "Dom Manuel is the Achilles of Poictesme, as Jurgen is its Ulysses." Jurgen recently emerged upon the world, adventured remarkably, and got his come-uppance from the Tumble-Bugs, as Mr. Cabell has pointed out. Now emerges Manuel, Count as well as Achilles of his realm, and runs his not-too-heroic race. He wanders less widely than Jurgen; his experiments are less varied; there is about him, on the whole, less for the Tumble-Bugs to find fault with. He is, in short, an artist, who desires above all things to shape certain figures out of clay but who finds himself drawn away from his art to the world by divers obligations, such as being the Count and the Redeemer of Poictesme and the husband of Niafer and the lover of Alianora and Queen Freydis of Audela and the twilight Suskind and the father of Melicent (to mention no others). He does make a few figures of earth that almost satisfy him, puts life into them, and turns them loose, but Grandfather Death comes for Manuel when he has accomplished no more than making himself a hero in Poictesme. Heroism, of course, as always in Mr. Cabell's books, turns out in the end to have been vanity. "Looking back," says Manuel to Grandfather Death, . . . "I seem to see only the strivings of an ape reft of his tail, and grown rusty at climbing, who has reeled blunderingly from mystery to mystery, with pathetic makeshifts, greedy in all desires, and always honeycombed with poltroonery."

The curious will look long but not successfully in "Figures of Earth" for the thread of allusion that made "Jurgen" most alluring to certain of its readers. Here there are several kinds of allusion. The eagle of the Apsarasas talks remarkably like a certain President, and Manuel by similar aphorisms uttered during his war for Poictesme nearly wins to his side the cavalry and battering-rams of Queen Stultitia of Philistia. Concerning the habits and uses of the stork in that same land of Philistia the book has some quaint and valuable discussions. Satire is not remote from the account of the messianic hosts who go to win Poictesme back from Asmund's tall marauders. And it might be hard to find better parodies than appear in the chapter Magic of the Image-Makers, wherein are reported four unsuccessful versions of the Rune of the Blackbirds. In fact, "Figures of Earth" lacks the unity and the seriousness of "Jurgen"; it plays with its theme. "In what else, pray," says Alianora to Manuel, "does man differ from the other animals except in that he is used by words? . . . Man has only the body of an animal to get experiences in, and the brain of an animal to think them over with, so that the thoughts and opinions of the poor dear must remain always those of a more or less intelligent animal. But his words are very often magic."

It is a strange and charming thought that the year which saw "The Age of Innocence" and "Main Street" and "Miss Lulu Bett" and "Moon-Calf" and "Poor White" published should have seen the writing of a legend which recalls Count Anthony Hamilton and Sterne and Lord Dunsany, a legend all fun and no propaganda, with so much learning and so little argument, with so much style and so little zeal. The movement of the book is slow because it is so sly; irony lurks behind every syllable, peeping; the story never runs on by the mere momentum of narrative. There are not enough stage directions to explain the business of the fable. To catch all the allusions one must be learned in all the books of myth and tradition that have been written—and in several that have not been written. From "Figures of Earth" it is a good many miles to naturalism. But the joy of stumbling upon a book of this day and year that is as cheerful as the lucubrations of the optimistic and yet shrewd and wise and beautiful and learned enough to hold a civilized man through all its subtleties to the end! C. V. D.

Notable New Books

Charles Bradlaugh. By J. M. Robertson.—*Auguste Comte.* By F. J. Gould.—*Thomas Henry Huxley.* By Leonard Huxley.—*Robert Owen.* By Joseph McCabe. London: Watts.

Four volumes in the new and admirable series called Life-Stories of Famous Men—"some of the chief protagonists in the great struggle for freedom of thought and inquiry." Other volumes are promised.

The Best Short Stories of 1920 and The Yearbook of the American Short Story. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Small, Maynard.

The annual appearance of an anthologist with whom every critic will disagree at some point or other, but whose bibliographical labors every one may profit by.

From Authority to Freedom. By L. P. Jacks. London: Williams and Norgate.

A biography of Charles Hargrove, which is worthy of a place beside Edmund Gosse's "Father and Son" and "The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford."

French Foreign Policy (1898-1914). By Graham H. Stuart. Century.

A scholarly history of the Entente-building period of French diplomacy, "ever a knight errant in its soul."

Radiant Motherhood. By Marie Carmichael Stopes. Putnam.

A "sex" book by an intelligent and informed physician who has not, however, been able to avoid British sentimentality in her language. There is at least one extraordinary expurgation in the American edition.

While Europe Waits. By Pierrepont B. Noyes. Macmillan.

An important little book, a large part of which appeared in *The Nation* for January 19.

Drama

A Note on Dramatic Dialogue

DRAMATIC dialogue is of two kinds. In the older and, it has often been thought, nobler kind the dramatist lends the characters his own energy and beauty of speech and they are differentiated one from another primarily by the sentiments they utter and only secondarily, if at all, by the manner of that utterance. Stylistically the speech of Jason and Medea, Othello and Iago, Alceste and Philinte is one. Whether such dialogue be written in verse or prose does not affect the method involved. Bernard Shaw, despite an occasional use, as in certain scenes of "Major Barbara," of the raciest vernacular, shares with his characters his own wealth of energy and eloquence and wit. Among the Neo-romantics this stylistic unity is even more pervasive, and in Yeats and Hofmannsthal, kings and poets, ghosts and clowns use the identical forms and cadences of speech.

The second kind of dramatic dialogue, which may be called the naturalistic, makes such a selection from the actual speech of men as to produce an illusion of reality. Here the language of the characters is adjusted to their class and occupation, their actual mentality and range of expression, and individual peculiarities of speech are studied and suggested. The occasional use of naturalistic dialogue is old. It is found in Horace's account of the bore he met on the *via sacra*, in Swift's "Genteel and Ingenious Conversations," in one magnificent passage after another of "Tom Jones." But its conscious cultivation as a dramatic medium is recent. That cultivation dates from Hauptmann's "Before Dawn" (1889) and the early acts of Brieux's "Blanchette" (1891). It is not found in either Augier or in Ibsen, both of whom use a kind of dialogue no less lifted into a unity of style because that style is sober and pedestrian.

The dramatist who feels an original creative impulse need not ask himself: Ought there to be a third kind of dialogue? That question has no meaning in art. He must ask himself: Can there, in the nature of things, be a third kind? If a dramatist strives, as Mr. David Liebovitz did in "John Hawthorne"

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the other day, to make very simple people speak, he can either lend them a heightened medium for all they would say if they could, as Arthur Symons did so beautifully in "The Harvesters," or he can select all that is vivid, strange, and passionate in their own actual speech, as Hauptmann did so incomparably in "Rose Bernd." But when he takes their vernacular, as Hauptmann did, and tries to use that vernacular as Symons used the medium of "The Harvesters," he creates a confusion of styles which at once renders impossible that suspension of disbelief which is dramatic, no less than poetic, faith. To point out the veracity of this detail or that is futile. He has used the true details of speech, but he has used them in a manner that robs them of persuasiveness as art. For art can produce nothing closer to reality than an interpretative illusion of it. And the artist can fail of this object with well-observed details almost as easily as with those that have been observed ill. We are convinced by every word that Beatrice Cenci utters; we are equally convinced by the speech of Jones in Galsworthy's "The Silver Box." But Jones's vernacular used in an attempt to produce the timeless human intensity of Beatrice would issue in feebleness and discord.

The average American playwright uses a semi-naturalistic dialogue romanticized by a bad tradition drawn from both plays and books. The people of Mr. James Forbes talk as shoe-dealers and insurance agents think they talk just after they have read their favorite magazines. Mr. Eugene Walters once had his moments of veracity. But, as a rule, the dialogue of popular plays is an imitation of the speech that people like to assign to themselves in their day-dreams, full of false gaiety and spurious nobleness. The serious dramatist cannot, of course, use this method. His choice is forced upon him. His manner must be akin to Shelley's or to Galsworthy's. He will hesitate to use the former for artistic as well as for practical reasons. The stylicized drama, whether in prose or verse has, as a matter of hard fact, not even the sympathy of our better actors and our better audiences. The reason for this is not pertinent here. The fact remains. Hence our American dramatist is almost under the necessity of observing and making a selection from the actual speech of his contemporaries.

At this crucial point another difficulty confronts him. Cultivated Americans talk more bookishly and are more alienated from the vernacular than the corresponding class of Europeans. They use slang and common turns of speech with an ironic under-tone. The reason is that our common speech is not folk-speech, but a corrupt newspaper English filled with the ephemeral catch-words of sport and trade. An educated Irishman can talk like an Irish peasant and still talk beautifully; an educated American cannot talk like a clerk in a cigar-store without a grin. We have islands of folk-speech in New England and in the South. But the sporting page of the newspapers, the Victrola record of songs sung by Nora Bayes, and the slang of the drummer are rapidly obliterating the dialects that savor of the earth. The best, then, that the dramatist can do is, probably, to follow the novelists who use the corrupt speech of the populace naturalistically but with a constant and communicated awareness of its true character. That is what Sinclair Lewis did so admirably in "Main Street," and what Miss Zona Gale did equally well in "Miss Lulu Bett." That both the speech in question and the author's awareness of its quality can be transferred to the stage has been amply illustrated by the first act of the dramatized version of Miss Gale's story. If the playwright, finally, desires to deal with the minority of cultivated and sophisticated Americans, he has but to turn to modern literary English, using it with what simplicity and colloquial ease he can command. And here, again, the novelists from Edith Wharton to Joseph Hergesheimer have set him excellent examples. But whatever style he uses must be used consistently and purely. Good dialogue, as Galsworthy has pointed out, must be like hand-made lace. One thread of foreign material or inharmonious color breaks the web and destroys the illusion.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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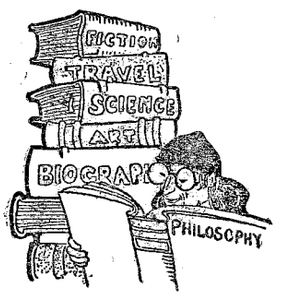

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International Relations Section

The Paris Allied Decisions

THE Allied Conference which met at Paris, January 24 to 29, 1921, reached decisions of the utmost importance to all Europe. These decisions, in so far as they concerned Franco-German relations, were transmitted to the German Government in three parts, a covering letter, a note detailing the reparations agreement, and a document specifying the conditions under which Germany should complete the process of disarmament. These three notes are here given as translated from *Le Temps* (Paris) for February 1, 1921. Although cast in categorical form, they will probably be somewhat revised at the present London conference.

The Covering Letter

MR. PRESIDENT: The Conference of the Allies met at Paris, January 24 to 29, 1921, and made the following decisions:

1. As regards disarmament of Germany, the Allies approved the conclusions formulated in the note attached hereto;

2. As regards reparations, the Allies unanimously approved the propositions formulated in the document which is also attached hereto.

In permitting further extensions of time for disarmament, the Allies have in the past and do now take account of the difficulties experienced by the German Government in carrying out the obligations resulting from the treaty. They firmly hope that the German Government will not compel the Allies, who confirm their previous decisions, to envisage the serious situation which would arise should Germany continue to fall short of her obligations.

Authorized delegates of the German Government will be invited to meet with the delegates of the Allied Governments at London at the end of February.

A. BRIAND

Paris, January 29, 1921

The Reparations Agreement

ARTICLE 1. To satisfy the obligations laid upon her by Articles 231 and 232 of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany must pay, apart from the restitutions prescribed in Article 238 and all the other obligations of the treaty:

1. Fixed annuities, payable half at the end of each six months period, as follows:

(a) Two annuities of 2 billion gold marks, from May 1, 1921, to May 1, 1923;

(b) Three annuities of 3 billion gold marks, from May 1, 1923, to May 1, 1926;

(c) Three annuities of 4 billion gold marks, from May 1, 1926, to May 1, 1929;

(d) Three annuities of 5 billion gold marks, from May 1, 1929, to May 1, 1932;

(e) Thirty-one annuities of 6 billion gold marks, from May 1, 1932, to May 1, 1963;

2. Forty-two annuities, beginning May 1, 1921, equal to 12 per cent ad valorem of Germany's exports, payable in gold two months after the expiration of each six months' period.

In order to assure full execution of paragraph 2 above, Germany will give the Reparation Commission every facility for verifying the sum of German exports and for the necessary supervision.

ART. 2. The German Government will immediately deliver to the Reparation Commission bearer bonds payable on the dates prescribed in Article 1, the amount of which shall be equal to each of the six months' payments prescribed in the aforesaid paragraph.

The Reparation Commission will be instructed to facilitate the realization by the Powers which so request of the share due them according to agreements made among the Powers.

ART. 3. Germany may at any time make advance payments upon the fixed portion of her debt. Such advance payments will be applied to the reduction of the fixed annuities prescribed in Article 1, paragraph 1; these annuities will be discounted at 8 per cent to May 1, 1923; at 6 per cent from May 1, 1923, to May 1, 1925; at 5 per cent after May 1, 1925.

ART. 4. Germany will not undertake any credit operation outside her own territory, either directly or indirectly, without the approval of the Reparation Commission. This applies to the governments of the German Reich, of the German states, to the German provincial or municipal authorities, as well as to companies or enterprises controlled by the aforesaid governments and authorities.

ART. 5. In pursuance of Article 248 of the Treaty of Versailles all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and of the German states shall be applicable to guarantee complete execution by Germany of the provisions of the present arrangement. The proceeds of the German customs, land and sea, including the proceeds of all import and export, and accessory, taxes, constitute a special security for the execution of this agreement. No change which might diminish the proceeds of the customs shall be made in the German customs legislation and regulations without the approval of the Reparation Commission. All German customs receipts shall be deposited to the credit of the German Government by a receiver-general of the German customs, who shall be named by the German Government with the approval of the Reparation Commission.

Should Germany default in any of the payments prescribed in this arrangement:

1. All or part of the proceeds of the German customs in the hands of the receiver-general of German customs may be seized by the Reparation Commission and applied by it to the execution of the obligations which Germany has failed to fulfil. In such a case, if it deem it necessary, the Reparation Commission may itself assume the administration and collection of the customs receipts;

2. The Reparation Commission may also formally invite the German Government to make such increases in its tariff schedule or to take such other measures to increase its resources as the Commission may deem indispensable;

3. If this formal invitation is without effect, the Commission may declare the German Government in a state of bankruptcy and may report this situation to the Allied and Associated Powers, which will then take such measures as they may deem justified.

HENRI JASPAR (Belgium)
D. LLOYD GEORGE (Great Britain)
ARISTIDE BRIAND (France)
C. SFORZA (Italy)
K. ISHII (Japan)

Paris, January 29, 1921

The Note Concerning Disarmament

Military Clauses

1. The Reichswehr (army of 100,000 men). (a) Legislation: The most recent draft military law presented by the German Government has not yet been voted. Moreover it makes important omissions, particularly in connection with the abolition of compulsory military service, which is prescribed for the Empire, but not for each of the German states. Furthermore complementary troops and other undefined military organizations are suggested.

(b) Organization. The effectives of certain services and a large number of military employees are not included in the army of 100,000 men. The number of officers and of military employees attached to the central administration (the Ministry of National Defense and subsidiary organizations) is far above the number authorized by the treaty (916 instead of 300).

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2. Delivery and Destruction of War Material. Despite the considerable quantity of this material already delivered and destroyed, the disarmament of Germany is still far from being completed. In particular: There is a considerable surplus due to the fact that the reduction of the army to 100,000 men has not been accompanied by the delivery of the corresponding material; a large amount of material has accumulated in the troop headquarters, depots, and arsenals; the German Government presumes to retain as replacement or practice material far larger quantities than those prescribed in the treaty. Finally, many arms are still in the hands of the civilian population.

On the other hand, the German Government, in its note of December 24, refused to execute the decision of November 8 of the Conference of Ambassadors, and has deferred delivery of the artillery material of Küstrin and of Lotzen-Boyen, and the delivery of the heavy artillery of Königsberg in excess of that permitted by the Interallied Commission of Control;

The German Government, in its note of January 5, asked to retain for its land fortifications a considerable quantity of material not provided for in the treaty, including in particular 2,600 machine-guns (besides those authorized for the army of 100,000 men);

The German Government has refused to execute the decision of December 27 of the Council of Ambassadors and has appealed from this decision to the Allied Governments. It has thus postponed delivery of unauthorized material for the maritime fortifications; it presumes to retain 1,086 cannon instead of the 420 authorized by the Interallied Military Commission of Control;

Furthermore, the suppression of the military establishments and factories provided for in Article 168 of the treaty, and the destruction of the war machinery provided for in Article 169 have not been carried out in the conditions prescribed;

3. Home Defense Organizations. Disarmament of the home defense organizations has only been begun. The dissolution of these organizations has not been achieved. The German Government in its notes of December 9 and 22 claims to have the right to retain these organizations and to postpone their disarmament in Bavaria and East Prussia to a date not yet fixed, which it will set.

4. Security Police. Most of the unauthorized arms of the Security Police have been delivered. But the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*) has simply been transformed, with its old composition and organization, into the Protective Police (*Schutzpolizei*). Hence the dissolution prescribed at Boulogne has not been achieved.

Decisions of the Allied Governments.—1. The Reichswehr (army of 100,000 men).—The German Government is formally invited:

(a) To hasten the vote of the military law, at present before the Reichstag, after making the modifications necessary to bring it into harmony with the peace treaty, especially as concerns compulsory service, which should be suppressed in each of the states as well as in the Empire. These steps should be taken prior to March 15, 1921;

(b) To bring the details of the organization of the Reichswehr (army of 100,000 men) into harmony with the text of the treaty, especially to suppress the surplus of officers and employees of the central administration. These steps should be taken prior to April 1, 1921;

2. War Materials.—(a) As regards war material in general the German Government is formally invited to hasten delivery of the balance of this material, particularly, (1) of the material due to the reduction of the German army to 100,000 men; (2) of the material accumulated in the troop headquarters, in the depots, and in the arsenals which the German Government asks to keep as replacement and practice material; (3) of the arms remaining in the hands of the civil population;

(b) As regards cannon for fortifications, the German Government is informed in reply to its note of December 24 that no armament is to be retained for Küstrin and for Lotzen-Boyen, and that the fort of Königsberg must have no more than the armament authorized by the Interallied Military Commission of Control, to wit, 22 heavy pieces;

(c) As regards armament other than cannon for the land forts, no armament other than that accorded by the test of the treaty (Article 167) can be permitted;

(d) As regards armament of the sea forts, the Allied Governments maintain the decision of December 27 of the Council of Ambassadors, maintaining the decision of the Interallied Military Commission of Control, to wit, 420 pieces instead of the 1,086 asked by the German Government.

The steps enumerated in paragraphs (a), (b), (c), and (d), above, must be taken prior to February 28, 1921;

(e) As regards factories, the German Government is formally invited: (1) To recognize the classification of factories authorized to manufacture war material in future, as drawn up by the Interallied Military and Naval Commissions of Control; (2) immediately to effect the necessary transformation or destruction of war machinery in accordance with Articles 168 and 169 of the treaty.

3. Home Defense Organizations.—The Allied Governments, in reply to the German notes of December 9 and 22, maintain the principle of disarmament and dissolution of these organizations, as fixed by the protocol of Spa and the Boulogne note, in execution of Articles 177 and 178 of the treaty; they agree to the following delay made necessary by the de facto situation: The legislative texts prescribing dissolution of all the home defense organizations, and prohibiting their re-formation under penalty of punishment, should be published prior to March 15, 1921. The dissolution of all these organizations will be carried out as rapidly as possible, and should be complete by June 30 at latest. The arms belonging to these organizations will be delivered as follows: (a) all of the heavy arms, and two-thirds of the portable arms, will be delivered on March 31, 1921; (b) the rest of the arms and munitions shall be delivered on June 30, 1921.

4. The Security Police.—The Allied Governments, in reply to the note of January 3 of the German Government, confirm the decisions of the Boulogne note of June 22, which declared that the police should preserve its character as a local organization, have in no manner or degree a centralized organization, and should not possess more equipment in arms than that fixed by the Interallied Military Commission of Control. They furthermore recall to the German Government that the total of the police forces should never exceed 150,000 men.

Naval Clauses

1. Because of the failure of the German Government to execute the Spa protocol of July 9, 1920, as regards paragraph 5, (b) delivery of the documents asked, (c) cessation of obstruction, and (d) delivery of war material; and also because violations of Articles 188 and 191 concerning the total destruction of submarines and their new construction have occurred, the German Government is formally invited: (1) To complete the delivery of all the documents asked by February 28, 1921; (2) to complete disarmament of all the reserve ships by April 30, 1921; (3) to complete the destruction of all warships under construction, excepting only those transformation of which has been authorized, by July 31, 1921; and immediately to destroy completely every submarine or part of submarine; (4) to complete without further delay the delivery and destruction of all the surplus war material referred to in Article 192; (5) to deliver to the Allies unconditionally the entire fleet of light cruisers and destroyers asked by the Council of Ambassadors in its note of September 20, 1920, in accordance with its decisions.

Such material as does not fall within Article 192 of the treaty will be credited to the reparations account.

2. The German Government is also informed that the Interallied Naval Council of Control will continue to define what is war material, as the Council of Ambassadors decided on September 3, 1920. This material should be delivered without further delay, in accordance with Article 192, to be destroyed

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or rendered useless in the eyes of the Commission, for military purposes, or otherwise disposed of to the satisfaction of the Commission that it will not be utilized for such purposes.

3. The laws promulgated by the German Government in execution of the naval clauses of the treaty are in some cases inadequate. The German Government is formally invited to remedy this.

AIR CLAUSES

Violations. 1. Germany has not delivered all the airplanes, seaplanes, motors, dirigibles, hangars, dirigible accessories, wireless and photographic equipment, hydrogen factories and reservoirs, machine-guns and other aeronautical equipment (Article 202). There remain to be delivered according to some calculations, for instance, 1,400 airplanes and 5,000 motors.

2. Germany has since July 10, 1920, resumed aeronautical manufacture, despite the decision of the Allied Governments at Boulogne, on June 22, and it has attempted to export such manufactured material despite the formal orders of the Control Commission (Article 201).

3. Germany has refused to furnish the compensation demanded by the Allies for the seven Zeppelins destroyed in 1919 (Article 202).

4. Germany has not paid the sum of 25,000,000 marks still due as compensation for the material improperly exported (Article 202).

5. Germany claims the right to use aircraft in its police organizations (Article 198).

Decisions of the Allied Governments. 1. The German Government will facilitate the search for hidden material, and all the deliveries called for by Article 202 will be completed before May 15, 1921.

2. Germany must assure execution of the Boulogne decision, to wit, not to resume manufacture and importation of aeronautical material until three months after the date on which the Interallied Aeronautical Commission of Control shall have declared Article 202 completely executed.

3. Germany must pay the compensation demanded for the destruction of the Zeppelins, the details of which will be fixed in a separate agreement.

4. Germany must pay the 25,000,000 marks hereinbefore indicated prior to March 31.

5. Germany must comply with the decision of the Council of Ambassadors of November 8, 1920 (C. A. 91, III), regarding prohibition of the use of aircraft in police organizations.

Furthermore, to assure application of Article 198 of the treaty, which forbids it to possess any military or civil aircraft, Germany must accept such definitions as may be made by the Allied Powers in order to distinguish civil aircraft from the military aircraft prohibited by Article 198. The Allied Governments will assure themselves by constant supervision that Germany fulfils this obligation.

The Allies have at various times taken account of the difficulties experienced by the German Government in fulfilling the obligations resulting from the treaty. In the present note, they grant further postponements. They firmly hope that the German Government will not compel the Allied Powers, who confirm their previous decisions, to envisage the serious situations which would arise should Germany continue to fall short of her obligations.

The Disarmament Notes

THE decisions of the Paris Conference regarding disarmament came as the climax of a long series of notes exchanged first between the German Foreign Minister and the head of the Interallied Military Commission of Control in Berlin, and later between the French and German Governments. These notes, published in *L'Europe Nouvelle* (Paris) for January 9 and 16, 1921, are here summarized. The Paris Conference note is in large part a reply to the German note of January 2.

NOVEMBER 29. General Nollet of the Interallied Military Commission of Control at Berlin wrote to the German Foreign Minister, Herr Simons, asking what steps the German Government had taken or intended taking to hasten disarmament and dissolution of the home defense organizations.

DECEMBER 9. Herr Simons replied that the German Government was not juridically obligated to dissolve the home defense organizations, which were purely local, non-military, police organizations. These organizations were, however, temporary in nature, and had arisen in response to an emergency and would disappear when the national state was better able to preserve order everywhere. Germany had, however, agreed at Spa to dissolve the *Einwohnerwehr*, and this process would be complete by February except in Bavaria and in East Prussia. In Bavaria because of the persistent fear of another Communist uprising, and in East Prussia because of the unsettled conditions to the East, the *Einwohnerwehr* could not yet be dissolved.

DECEMBER 11. General Nollet replied to the effect that the Commission could not accept Herr Simons's arguments or conclusions. The Commission believed the home defense organizations to be in fact "organizations which might facilitate mobilization"; they should be dissolved. Conditions in Bavaria and in East Prussia did not, in the eyes of the Commission, warrant retaining the *Einwohnerwehr*, and the admission of a special regime for those regions would set a dangerous precedent for others. Furthermore, the number of arms delivered to the Commission was far from adequate. The Commission again asked details as to further plans.

DECEMBER 22. Herr Simons replied, contending that while Article 178 of the treaty forbade "all measures appertaining to mobilization," it did not forbid those which might facilitate mobilization; under such a construction, railroads, tax lists, etc., might be ruled out. He disputed or explained the data which the Commission had contended showed the home defense organizations to be military in nature. He gave a list of the arms surrendered, and asked that the correspondence be submitted to the Allies.

DECEMBER 23. General Nollet replied, stating that the Commission had not observed complete or partial suppression of the security police in any part of the realm; that the *Ordnungspolizei* was in large part the old security police; that the Commission "noted the violation of the stipulations of the peace treaty and of the Boulogne note" and asked that the security police be immediately and entirely dissolved, and the number of the police be reduced to the level permitted by the treaty, and that a list of all police officials be given the Commission.

DECEMBER 25. Herr Simons replied, protesting against the statement that Germany had violated the treaty, reserving a full reply for a later date, and stating that the German Government had been unable to obtain a statement of what was required of it by the Boulogne note until October.

DECEMBER 26. The Council of Ambassadors met at Paris, read the correspondence between General Nollet and Herr Simons, decided to refer the matter to the Allied Governments.

DECEMBER 31. The French Government addressed the German Government, stating that the German Government has agreed at Spa on July 9, 1920, in order to execute the Treaty of Versailles, to (1) disarm immediately the security police and the *Einwohnerwehr;* (2) deliver immediately all arms in the hands of the civilian population; (3) take immediately the steps necessary for the abolition of compulsory military service and to organize the army on a basis of long-term service; (4) deliver to the Allies for destruction, and to aid in the destruction of, all arms and military material above the quantity authorized by the treaty. In return the Allied Governments had granted an extension of time to January 1, 1921, for the reduction of the army to 100,000 men. But at the expiration of that time limit, the French Government was compelled to

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note: (1) Fewer arms had been delivered than had been surrendered by civilians to the German authorities; (2) Germany had not yet stated when the arms of the *Einwohnerwehr* would be delivered; (3) disarmament of the security police had not been completed; (4) the security police had not been dissolved, despite the Allied note of June 22 extending the time limit to September 22; (5) the *Einwohnerwehr* still existed in Bavaria and in East Prussia, in violation of Article 177 of the treaty; (6) the German legislation regarding military service was not fully in accordance with the treaty; (7) the surplus war material had not been delivered, and Germany even asked to retain some of it without authorization in the treaty; (8) although the Germans claimed to have reduced the army to 100,000 men, unauthorized liquidating organizations still existed, and there was systematic obstruction of the execution of the air clauses. The French Government noted "these violations of engagements solemnly contracted by Germany, violations which the Allied Governments would have to consider."

JANUARY 1, 1921. Herr Simons replied at length to General Nollet's note of December 23. He declared that the text of the regulations for reorganization of the Prussian police had been discussed with representatives of the Commission and modified in accordance with suggestions made; and that these regulations had served as a model for the other states. Reorganization had proceeded on this plan after it had been approved in consultation with the Commission. The old security police had been a centralized organization, the troops living in barracks, equipped with cannon, mine and fire-throwers. Almost all heavy arms but the authorized machine-guns had been surrendered; the higher officers had been discharged, there being no use for them in the new local police; naturally many individuals formerly in the security police were taken into the new organization, and some of them still wore the old uniform for reasons of economy. The number of police had not been increased contrary to the treaty; civilian judicial and administrative police officials were not to be included in the maximum figure permitted.

JANUARY 2, 1921. The German Government replied to the note of December 31 of the French Government. (1) It had destroyed 413 mine-, flame-, or grenade-throwers, 2,597 machine-guns, 761,674 rifles or pistols, 362,669 parts of rifles or machine-guns; and arms voluntarily surrendered to the number of 376 mine-, flame-, or grenade-throwers, 6,536 machine-guns, 612,056 rifles and pistols, 179,495 parts of rifles and machine-guns had been, with very few exceptions, delivered to the offices of the *Reichstreuhandelsgesellschaft*, which delivers this material to the blast furnaces charged with its destruction. All these arms had, however, been rendered useless when they were surrendered. There remained only some 500 guns which would shortly be delivered. (2) The home defense organizations had delivered most of the arms which they had declared, and the delivery would be complete by the end of January. The German Government had not formally refused to dissolve the guards in Bavaria and East Prussia; it had expressly declared that it did not think of escaping that obligation; but because of the peculiar political situation it was for the time being impossible to disarm there as rapidly as in the rest of Germany. (3 and 4) The security police no longer existed. The German Government referred to its note of January 2 to General Nollet. The arms of the police force, except for a few machine-guns, had been reduced to the total set by the Commission. (5) The German Government had already stated that it did not consider local continuation of the *Einwohnerwehr* a violation of the treaty; it was a temporary expedient which it was the interest of the state to dissolve as soon as possible. (6) By the law of August 21, 1920, the German Government had fulfilled its Spa agreement to suppress compulsory military service at once. (7) The Government must contest the charge that it had not delivered all the surplus material of the old army. It had delivered 50,000 cannons, more than 5,000,000 rifles, 60,000 machine-guns, and 20,000 mine-throwers. The Commission had often exceeded the requirements of the treaty; it had admitted this on occasion in withdrawing its claims. It sought to limit the engineering and other equipment of the *Reichswehr* as much as possible; the German Government was obliged to retain material, partly because of the small number of factories, also because it would soon be obliged to repurchase at a higher price. It proposed to submit these questions to special commissions of experts subject to the Interallied Commission. It had discussed in detail in its note of December 24 to the Council of Ambassadors the question of artillery for the forts of Königsberg and Küstrin. (8) The liquidating bureaus were civilian bureaus and would be closed by April 1, 1921. The Government was not obstructing the execution of the air clauses; it had been faced with a series of demands which in its opinion were incompatible with the provisions of the treaty. Only a very small quantity of aeronautical material remained to be delivered. The Government was doing all it could to discover material which might be hidden. "The German Government recalls that according to the declarations of the Allied Governments themselves, the question was whether the Government was loyally endeavoring to keep its promises. It can say of itself that it has in all loyalty done all that it could."

The Experts' Report on Reparations

A PRELIMINARY conference of technical experts of the various nations concerned in the reparations question met at Brussels from December 15 to Christmas, and in the early days of January. It presented to the Supreme Interallied Council which met at Paris later in January the following study of the question of reparations, accompanied with extensive and detailed annexes. The general report as here given is translated from *L'Europe Nouvelle* (Paris) for January 30, 1921. It will be noted that the annual payment of 3 billion gold marks here suggested for the first five years, was reduced by the Allied Premiers to 2 billion for the first two years, but that the other suggestions were for the most part adopted.

I. OBSERVATIONS.

1. It is impossible at the present time to give a definitive opinion upon the general situation of Central Europe, upon the danger of bankruptcy caused by an unprecedented fiduciary inflation, and upon the intrinsic real value of wealth which is today represented only by a mass of paper money. German exports benefit by the fact that wages and the costs of raw materials in Germany have not increased in proportion to the depreciation of the mark abroad. It is difficult to calculate how long this situation will continue. In a general fashion it should be recognized that the economic situation of Germany is much better than its financial situation. A cleaning-up of its financial situation will permit Germany's economic potentialities to develop, and it may be expected that Germany will experience considerable prosperity as soon as its financial and monetary difficulties have been resolved; but it is almost impossible to say when that will be.

However that may be there is a major interest in making known to Germany immediately the total of her charges for the years of the immediate future, so that she may be able not only to arrange to meet them but to begin at once to carry out her obligations. It is therefore necessary to fix the means of payment for these first years even if the methods of later payment be not determined until the situation becomes clearer. Immediate indication to Germany of her obligations for these first years need not mean waiting until the end of the period before making known to Germany the sum total of its debt. The occasion for such a determination is beyond the task of the Brussels experts. They believe it their duty, however, to call the attention of the Allied Governments to the desirability, whatever

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their decision regarding the determination of the total debt may be, of defining at once Germany's obligations for the years of the immediate future in order to facilitate the work of reparation.

2. The number of years for which the obligations are defined should be sufficient to permit Germany to balance her budget and to remedy her monetary instability. A more thorough study would determine the number; it seems to be five (1921 to 1926).

It would be a mistake to attempt to balance the German budget by loans; it should be done by increasing her revenue and decreasing her expenditures. Germany could thus: (a) Cease to issue paper money; (b) resort to loans only to obtain indispensable raw materials and defer payment until they have been transformed by German factories, or to consolidate the floating debt, or to pay a portion of her reparation debt in advance. The present financial chaos of Germany is chiefly due to the fact that the German Empire has constantly resorted to the floating debt and to issue of paper money when it was its duty to ask a greater fiscal effort from the country.

As regards the ordinary budget the direct taxes are high enough and may be too high when the present fiscal system comes into full effect; the indirect taxes, however, are inadequate, especially the taxes on alcoholic drinks and perhaps the customs duties. It may further be observed that the fiscal system provided in the new budget has not yet yielded the expected return; and the effect which the heavy taxes on capital, most of which have not yet been collected, may have upon the future development of Germany should not be neglected. There is room for reduction of some of the expenditures inscribed in the ordinary budget although an important reduction in the total expenditures cannot be hoped for; thus personnel may be reduced, but it is to be feared that such economy will be compensated by pensions and by the extra expenses necessary to balance wages with the cost of living. The plans for the extraordinary expenses have been generously made without sufficient relation to the facts; they are certainly too high.

II. Suggestions

1. Germany shall pay three billion gold marks per year for the five-year period suggested above. The later annuities shall be higher, but for the time being shall remain undetermined. Details of application for this period shall be studied and settled at Brussels. The principle of this plan is submitted for the approval of the Allied Governments.

2. These annuities might be delivered in kind or paid in cash, including such payments as would be made as a percentage upon the sales abroad of certain large German organizations. The Allied Governments might approve the principle of a minimum of payments in kind. Suppression of the advances made by the Allies in return for deliveries of coal. Determination by the Reparation Commission of precise rules for evaluation of the deliveries in kind specified by the treaty, the price of other deliveries being determined by special agreements to be made.

3. Pledges and guaranties. (1) The annuity constitutes a first charge on all the German revenues, as defined in Article 248 of the Treaty of Versailles. However, so long as the annuity is paid, no administrative intervention in German public finances can follow. (2) Germany agrees to establish special taxes if the normal revenues are inadequate. Customs, indirect taxes (on alcohol, coal, etc.) in particular may be suggested. (3) If, and only if, Germany fails to carry out the obligations noted in (1) and (2) above, the Allies have the right to seize the customs-houses. They may also ask Germany to cut certain classes of expenditures out of her budget, especially, as paragraph 12 of annex II of part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles recognizes, to postpone interest upon and amortization of the internal debt.

4. Upper Silesia. Interallied supervision of the distribution of coal will be established after the plebiscite, in order to insure a just division of the coal.

5. Possible Alleviations in the Methods of Application of the Treaty. No concession can be made upon the following points: (1) Limitation of the early reparations payments to payments in kind, postponing payments in cash to later annuities; (2) reduction of coal deliveries to a lower level than that fixed at Spa; (3) continuation of Allied advances made in return for coal deliveries; (4) denial of the suggestion of Herr von Stauss at Brussels that such German properties sequestered in the Allied countries, as have not been liquidated be restored to their former owners; and of the plan of Herr Melchior to deposit in neutral countries as collateral for German loans securities belonging to German nations now in the hands of the Allied Governments; (5) suppression of the Upper Silesian plebiscite.

On the other hand it seems that certain alleviations might be granted Germany, both in the interest of justice and to facilitate a general agreement. The Supreme Council is asked to indicate its attitude upon the principles of the suggestions here presented, the details to be worked out by the Conference of Brussels.

(1) Armies of Occupation. Limitation of the sum repayable to the Allied Governments for cost of the armies of occupation to 240 million gold marks per year, as suggested in the note of the Prime Ministers of June 16, 1919. This limitation would be far less important for Germany if the cost of the armies of occupation were included in the total of the annuity. The interallied technical delegates are to meet immediately to settle all questions relative to the cost of the armies of occupation; they will establish contacts with the various Allied war ministries and obtain from them all pertinent information; they are to submit to the Supreme Council prior to April 1, 1921, a report giving the sums thus far expended by the various armies of occupation, and containing politic suggestions on the one hand for economies to be realized by the Allied armies as well as by the German Government, and on the other hand for equitable rules for distribution among the Allies;

(2) Simplification of the various reparations accounts, and of the other financial obligations charged against Germany by the treaty. This simplification is as desirable for the Allies as for Germany; a clear summary of the situation should be drawn up, showing all the payments which the treaty obligates Germany to make which compete with the reparations payments. In the interest of reparation, reductions or special methods of payment should be suggested. As regards Germany, she should be informed of her obligations, and the present system of sudden and unexpected demands for payment, which is very harmful to the German coal supply, should be renounced.

(3) Economic Relations. A general declaration should be made to Germany that the Allies do not intend to utilize the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles to oppose the legitimate development of German commerce.

(4) Ships. (a) Abandonment of the clauses of the treaty which require Germany to construct new tonnage for delivery to the Allies. (b) Possibility of leaving to Germany for (blank) years a part of the tonnage now in existence which she has not yet delivered; (c) Restitution to Germany for (blank) years of (blank) tons which she has already delivered, exclusively in freighters, no passenger ships, Germany in return to withdraw her veto upon emigration permits by Allied lines and to guarantee fair treatment to Allied shipping lines.

(5) Debt to the Allied Compensation Offices. The balances owed by Germany to be paid by her in monthly payments for two years, the amount to be fixed by agreement among the Allies.

(6) Reprisals under paragraph 18 of annex II of part VIII of the Treaty of Versailles. It is probable that the Allies intend to follow Great Britain in renouncing the right of reprisal against certain classes of private property belonging to Germans. This renunciation might be extended to all forms of private property.

(7) German property sequestered in the Allied countries. Small properties to be exempted.

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An Allied Holding Company for Austria

THE question of aid for Austria came up at the January 25 session of the Paris Conference. M. Seydoux, assistant commercial director of the French Foreign Ministry, proposed an interallied loan of $250,000,000 to Austria, but this was opposed by Mr. Lloyd George, Count Sforza, and others, chiefly on the ground that no funds were available. The matter was referred to a sub-committee consisting of M. Loucheur, Sir Robert Horne, and M. Giannini. This sub-committee presented, at the session of January 29, the proposals given below, commonly known as the "Loucheur Plan." The text is translated from *L'Europe Nouvelle* (Paris) for February 5. This plan was approved by the Conference, which also decided that the Allied Governments should renounce their debits against Austria.

Adopting the principle of no direct intervention of the states in a program for restoring Austria, the following plan is suggested and recommended:

Nothing whatever can be accomplished unless Austrian finances are reorganized. In the present situation a complete supervision of her public finances is necessary; Austria will accept it, and even demands it. An international commission should be formed, composed of representatives of the interested states, and assume a double mission:

1. To control the state budget and to clean up public finances. The first task should be to realize a program of administrative reforms and economies. It should in particular reduce the number of public officials, and cut out waste and abuses. Upon the commission would fall the task of supervising the issue of paper money, which should occur only with its authorization and within fixed limits;

2. To administer, or have administered by an Industrial, Commercial, and Banking Company under its supervision, the public revenues devoted to the guaranty of foreign credits undertaken by the state. This commission might function like the International Debt Commission of Greece. The functions of the company in administering the revenues would be analogous to that of the company administering the Greek monopolies.

The Industrial, Commercial, and Banking Company might be formed with a capital of 200 million francs. The capital might be distributed as follows: 30 millions subscribed by British interests; 30 millions by French interests; 30 millions by Italian interests; 30 millions by American interests; 80 millions divided among the neutral and successor states. If Austrian interests should desire to share, 50 millions might be reserved for them, thus bringing the total capital of the company to 250 millions.

The company would establish credits for Austrian industries, or have them established, to permit them to import at once the raw materials necessary for the resumption of economic life. It would supervise the rational use of these raw materials and their manufacture into exportable commodities. It would aid Austrian agriculture, supplying the necessary fertilizer and agricultural material. It would assure the importation of foodstuffs necessary for the life of Austria, after approval by the International Commission. The company might be charged by the Commission with industrial reorganization of the railroads. And with the monetary reorganization of Austria.

The company could be formed in February 1921. The financial groups of each of the countries could be invited to meet at Paris before February 10, 1921. On the other hand, it is indispensable that a decision be made in time to make the first advance to Austria ($30,000,000) at the beginning of March. As the company would not have had time to study the question adequately, it would seem that each of the financial groups should, for this first advance, obtain from its Government the necessary guaranty, but the company should obtain the necessary guaranties from Austria.

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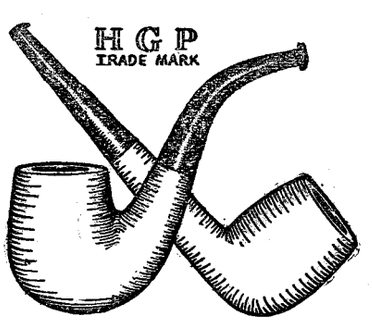

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